

THE ALIEN IMMIGRANT

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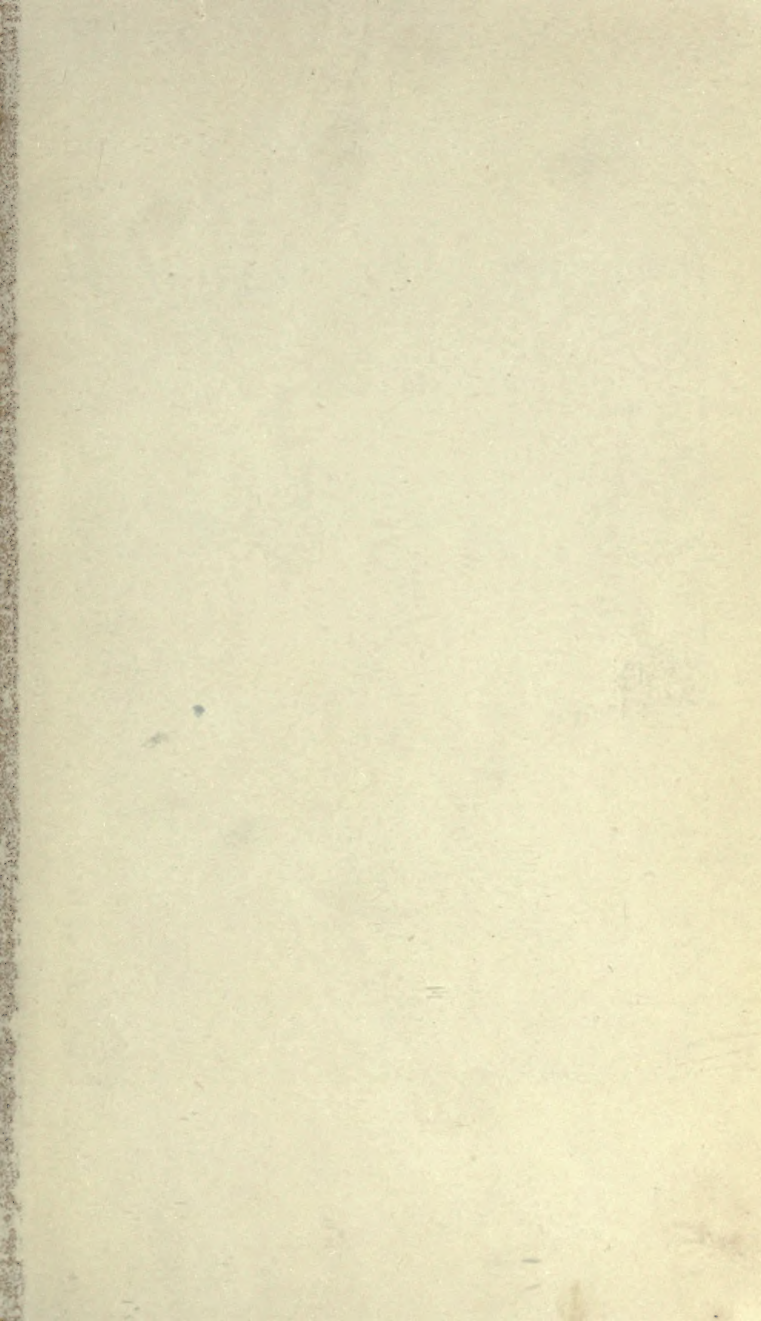
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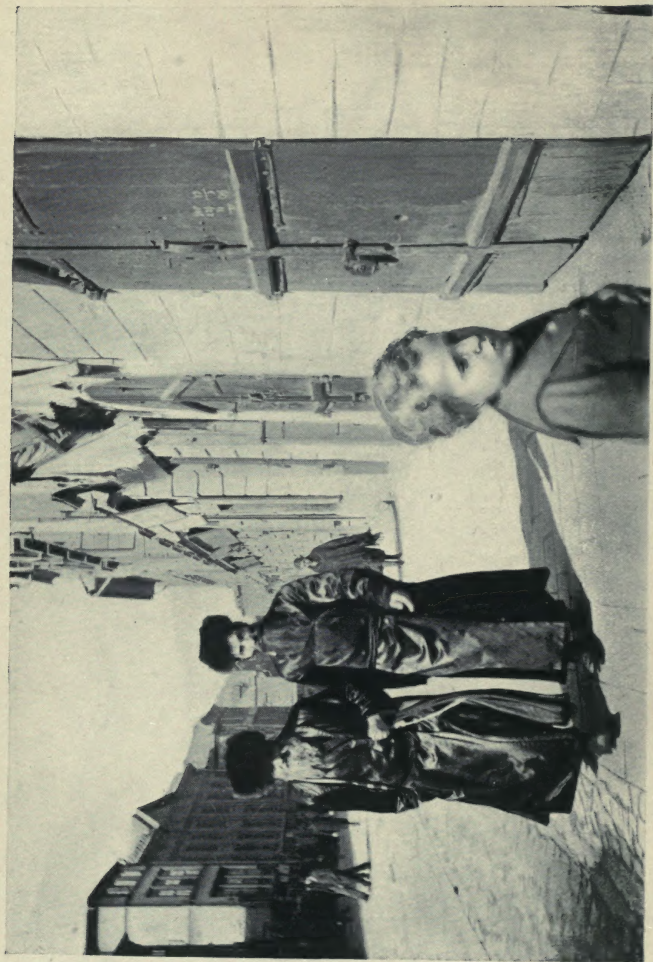
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TWO JEWS OF CRACOW



THE ALIEN IMMIGRANT

BY
MAJOR W. EVANS-GORDON, M.P.

(LATELY A MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION
ON ALIEN IMMIGRATION)

WITH MAP AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS FROM
AUTHOR'S PHOTOGRAPHS



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THE ALIEN IMMIGRANT

TO
MY FRIEND
EDWARD STEINKOPFF

PREFACE

THE Alien Immigrant has been the subject of prolonged and bitter controversy, in which both sides have been guilty of some exaggeration. On the one hand, there are those who uphold the newcomers as an unmixed advantage to this country; on the other, there are many who denounce their advent as an unmitigated evil. The object of this volume is to put both aspects of the case before the public as impartially as I can. The whole subject is one of great difficulty and complexity; but I am not without hope that these pages may serve to throw some light on it.

They were written at a time when I was much occupied with other work, and they could

never have been completed at all had it not been for the invaluable help I received from my friend Mr. Godfrey Burchett, the Secretary of the Immigration Reform Association. I cannot too warmly or too gratefully acknowledge the debt I owe to his industry, ability, and experience.

W. EVANS-GORDON.

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THE ALIEN IMMIGRANT

CHAPTER I

EAST OF ALDGATE

"I take it if there is one certainty in the world it is this, that with the growth of immigration, and with the continual closing of the confines of States to the destitute immigrants of other countries, there is no country in the world which will not be compelled to consider and reconsider its position with regard to pauper immigration, unless it wishes permanently to degrade the status and the conditions of its own working classes."

THESE words were spoken by Lord Rosebery in 1894. Five years previously the question of alien immigration had been considered by the House of Commons Committee which reported in 1889, and although restrictive legislation was not recommended at that time, the Report contemplated "the possibility of such legislation becoming necessary in the future, in view of the crowded condition of our great towns, the extreme pressure for existence among the

poorer parts of the population, and the tendency of destitute foreigners to reduce still lower the social and material condition of our own poor."

The evidence laid before the Committee did not enable it to reach any conclusion as to the number of aliens then to be found in London. No two witnesses and no two official documents agreed on the point. The position is unchanged in this respect. But it is manifest that the problem both as regards the number of aliens and the area affected is beyond all comparison graver and more urgent than it was thirteen years ago.

The necessity for action cannot be more forcibly illustrated than by the following extract from the Report of the Jewish Board of Guardians for 1901: "The Board has had to deal during the year under review with the large number of 2903 new cases. This raises the number of cases which received ordinary relief from the Board, or who were assisted to leave the country, to 5439, being 1120 more cases than in the previous year, and also considerably in excess of any previous annual record. . . . From the very outset the Board made known, both here and abroad, in the hope of checking the movement, that having regard

to the overcrowded condition of the East End, and the congested condition of its trades, it could not in justice to the resident poor, and also in the true interest of the immigrants themselves, depart from its established custom in dealing with new comers; and that, in the main, the only relief it could offer to applicants arriving here in a helpless condition would be to assist them to return to the country they had left with such deplorable absence of foresight. . . . The result of the application of these principles in the treatment of the total of 2903 new cases relieved by the Board in the past year was that 1399 were repatriated; 375 emigrated to places outside Europe, and 1120, or 39 per cent. were added to the books of the Board.

“It would be hard to exaggerate the significance and pathos of these figures. The fruitless journeyings to and fro of the repatriated must have involved in travelling expenses alone an outlay from start to finish of at least £8000, of which sum the Board had to provide some £3000. But serious as is the waste of such an amount, the expenditure of which can only have benefited the railway and shipping companies, there is an aspect of the case which is even more pitiable; that is the physical and mental suffering of the 1900 men, women, and

children* represented by the 1399 cases. It is an outrage against the dictates of common sense and humanity, that such a senseless and hopeless movement should ever have been directed towards these shores ; and the responsibility is heavy on those who encouraged and assisted it. . . . It should be recognized by all who are in a position to exert influence in arresting ill-considered emigration, that the Board, as the custodian of the interest of the foreign resident poor, must endeavour to prevent any increase of the congestion of the Jewish quarters of London, where practically living room is not to be found, and where labour is so poorly remunerated." It may be said that this quotation refers to an exceptional year, and that the outcry then raised would be unreasonable now. As a matter of fact the Russians and Poles who arrived at the Port of London in the year 1900 numbered 17,939, and exceeded the arrivals of 1899 by 3000, and the arrivals of 1901 by 2000. It must be borne in mind that these immigrants are with few exceptions Jews.

Prior to the year 1901 the Board of Trade did not classify Roumanian immigrants separately.

* These persons belong to a class of immigrants who, in the words of Mr. L. L. Cohen, President of the Board, "ought never to have come."

Including Roumanians, the figures are, for 1900, 20,715 ; for 1901, 16,908 ; and for 1902, 22,029. It is clear that the year 1900 cannot be said to show a greatly exceptional state of affairs when the steady increase of Russian and Polish emigration since 1894 is considered. Here are the figures :

1894	.	.	.	.	.	.	4381
1895	.	.	.	.	.	.	2281
1896	.	.	.	.	.	.	9762
1897	.	.	.	.	.	.	12,232
1898	.	.	.	.	.	.	12,313
1899	.	.	.	.	.	.	14,927
1900	.	.	.	.	.	.	17,939
1901	.	.	.	.	.	.	15,958
1902	.	.	.	.	.	.	21,013

Thus, leaving out the year 1900, the immigration of Russians, Poles and Roumanians has increased nearly 400 per cent., and the increase which caused so much anxiety to the Jewish community in 1900 was surpassed in 1902 by 3074. The ill-considered emigration, therefore, continues. The necessity of preventing any increase of the congestion in the Jewish quarters of London is as urgent to-day as it was when the Report quoted was written. Living room is more difficult to find, and employment grows more scarce and worse paid. In the words of the Report, the whole movement "is

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an outrage on the dictates of common sense and humanity.”

In the Board of Trade Returns these immigrants are classified as aliens not stated to be *en route* to America or any other country. But the system of collecting and classifying the figures is so imperfect that it is impossible to draw any trustworthy inference from them except that the tide of immigration is steadily increasing in volume. These statistics are condemned as severely in the report of the recent Royal Commission on Alien Immigration as they were in that of the House of Commons Committee of 1888.

Great Britain, of course, receives immigrants from every land. And the movement of foreigners into this country has, at many periods of its history, been very considerable. It is only necessary to refer in this connection to the coming of the Huguenots and other persecuted Protestants, though before the Reformation a steady infiltration and settlement of aliens proceeded. But these foreigners, desirable and undesirable, Catholics and Calvinists, became merged in the population. Intermarriage made their descendants English.

There is a vital distinction between the immigration just mentioned and that of Hebrew

people. Clannishness, tradition, a sort of historical fear of separation from their co-religionists, their obligation to observe peculiar ritual ordinances, added to the promptings and difficulties which tend to keep men of the same tongue and habits together in a strange land—all these things act as an inducement, almost as a spell, which brings the Jewish immigrants into the already crammed and congested areas of the East End, where their brethren are aggregated and segregated. And the native folk cannot assimilate this element, for intermarriage with Gentiles is forbidden by the precepts of the Jewish faith and is opposed to the Hebrew ideal. Mr. Harry Lewis, a most able Jewish writer, tells us in "The Jew in London": "I shall endeavour to establish that the Jewish race, as a separate entity, has a future; that its mission as such is far from completed; and that it can look forward to something better than the painless euthanasia to which Mr. Russell apparently condemns it." And again: "Past experience certainly justifies us in believing that we shall be able to resist assimilation."

The Hebrew colony, then, unlike any other alien colony in the land, forms a solid and permanently distinct block—a race apart, as it were, in an enduring island of extraneous thought and

custom. And the dense crowding in this island is intensified by what may, perhaps, be called the Ghetto habit—a habit due not to any primal tendency of the Jewish people, but to the calamitous conditions under which many of them have lived so long. Sir Samuel Montagu reminded the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration that the same thing is found in the great cities of almost all countries. “There is a Jewish quarter, and they crowd into it, where they would be better off if they were to spread out; they were obliged to be in the Ghetto in Rome, and when the Ghetto gates were taken down, and they were allowed to dwell in any part of Rome, they did not go.”

Alike in the New World and in the Old, in countries which persecute and in countries which do not, we find the aggregation of Hebrew dwellers in crowded, and usually poverty-stricken and forlorn, districts of great towns. The efforts of the leaders of the community to disperse these settlers meet with opposition from the very victims of the habit; and schemes for dissemination, though conceived in the finest spirit, have hitherto had but a trifling effect in meeting the difficulty. In fact, a few families sent to Reading and some other towns represent all that persuasion and



GHETTO CHILDREN, STEPNEY

the granting of facilities have accomplished in England.

Including the children born of foreign parents living in this country, I estimate the number of aliens in the East End to-day to be not less than 80,000. Elsewhere I give the facts on which this estimate is founded. And even the figure just given does not include the very numerous English-born descendants of Jewish immigrants now dead. This class, nevertheless, has exercised an important influence in displacing the original population.

Almost every conclusion based on the official figures must be conjectural. But what is not conjectural is the presence of an enormous and ever increasing foreign colony in the most crowded quarter of the most crowded town in the world. Only those who know the East End as it is, can fully realize what this continuous alien invasion means for the English population.

What, then, is the East End like under the sway of the immigrant, and what is its future to be if it is to remain an asylum open to all without condition or restriction?

Many English people living in the neighbourhood have summed up the situation to me in a phrase: "We are living in a foreign country." This may seem exaggerated, but in

a large part of the East End it is an accurate statement of fact.

East of Aldgate one walks into a foreign town. In the by-streets north and south of the main thoroughfares it is an exception to hear the English language spoken. The advertisements on the walls are in Yiddish and written in Hebrew characters. Notices of lodgings, &c., are in the same tongue. Nine-tenths of the names over the shops are foreign, and even where an English patronymic is seen, it is used for the most part by foreigners who have adopted it for purposes of their own.

When visiting the towns of Western Russia within the Jewish pale, I was surprised to find myself in the familiar surroundings of the East End. The life, the language, the people, the shops and their contents were the same.

Dwellings which quite recently were in the occupation of English working men and their families have been converted into workshops and small factories, in which the conditions frequently baffle description. The gardens which were formerly often to be seen, and which were the pride and pleasure of the tenants, have nearly all disappeared, and these open spaces are now too often occupied by sweaters' workshops

or are receptacles in which rags and garbage are piled.

No matter at what hour of the day or night one passes, the machines are heard, and through the windows, by the light of a dim lamp, the victims of the sweaters, imported from Wilna or Lodz, can be seen bending over their work in the endeavour "to deliver their tale" of shoddy or shoes.

In many instances, especially among the "greeners," or new arrivals, these descendants of Pharaoh's brickmakers, at two or three in the morning, after fifteen or eighteen hours of work, drop in their tracks in the workrooms from sheer exhaustion, and snatch a few hours' sleep.

I wonder if it is understood by the outside world that in hundreds of houses in the East End a single room serves as workshop, kitchen, bedroom, and living-room.

It seems scarcely possible that children bred under such conditions can be healthy. But it is a fact that infant mortality among the Jewish population is low. This may be an example of hereditary immunity acquired in the Ghettos, but it is greatly to the credit of the Jewish people that they are excellent parents. Their women do not as a rule feed their new-born

children artificially, and they wean them at a much later date than is customary in England. It is a well-known fact that infantile mortality is high among hand-reared children, and the care which Jewish mothers bestow on their babies lowers the death-rate among them.

But these worthy descendants of Jacob are supplanters all round. For instance the streets are daily more invaded and obstructed by alien hawkers and costers, upon whose barrows and trucks a marvellous miscellany of wares can be found. The increase of these street trades has caused, and is causing, serious difficulty to the Local Authority, and the native-bred coster—in the very hour of his triumph in song—is being steadily ousted.

The Christian fares as the Canaanite fared. He is expropriated. Chapel after chapel has been closed, many mission halls have been abandoned, and the congregations of the few that remain are dwindling every day. The Bishop of Stepney, speaking on November 24, 1902, said that East London was growing more and more poverty-stricken. In some districts every vestige of comfort had been absolutely wiped out, the foreigners coming in like an army of locusts, eating up the English inhabitants or driving them out. He prophesied that before

his hair was grey the old parish church of Stepney would be standing amid an alien population. He recognized the vigour and intelligence among the aliens ; but the fact remained that they were swamping whole areas once populated by English people, and our churches were continually being left like islands in the midst of an alien sea.

Another result of the transformation of a large portion of the East End into a foreign colony is the effect it has had upon the observance of Sunday. This is keenly felt by the clergy of all denominations. The day of rest has become a day of unrest. Many of the streets are used as market-places, and are thronged with a multitude of buyers and sellers, through whom one must fight one's way. There is a veritable babel of hawkers' cries. And no one beholding the scene for the first time could believe that he was in an English town on an English Sunday. The foreign factories are in full swing, and most of the shops are open.

I have heard it argued that these districts should be treated on the same basis as the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, and that Christian usage should be regarded as a subordinate consideration. This point of view indicates, to my mind, a very serious state of things.

The desecration of the Sunday adds an important element to the increasing bitterness of feeling which is caused by the substitution of a foreign for an English population.

I have used the word "substitution." It is a fact that no less than 107 streets in the borough of Stepney which were not populated by foreigners six years ago are wholly occupied by foreigners to-day, and the stress which is put upon our own people in consequence of this displacement is exemplified by the following extract from a paper read by the Rector of Spitalfields in March 1901, at a Conference on the Housing of the Poor :

"The Whitechapel Union in its Spitalfields district overtops any district I know in point of overcrowding. For all London the average number of persons per acre is 57 ; for Bethnal Green it is 171, for Whitechapel it is 195, for Spitalfields it is 330. Where poverty most abounds congestion is greatest, the demand for rooms keenest, and rents highest. The rent demanded is frequently quite beyond the power of the wage-earner of the family to pay. But he secures the rooms and takes in lodgers.

"I know two rooms where a poor family lives. The earnings of the man are small. The rent

is high. At ten o'clock at night the family retire from the kitchen to the bedroom, and a gentlemanly-looking man, with frock coat and silk hat, enters the vacated kitchen, and makes his bed on the floor. He helps to pay the rent. From one of my parochial buildings I have seen through the thinly-veiled windows of a house, four men and six women retiring for the night in one room, the rent of which is 8s. a week—all of them respectable, hard-working people, and the majority of them sleeping in beds on the floor.

“I have had men with their wives and children, and with money in their pockets, come to me and appeal to me to find them room in which to live. At one of our Christmas teas about 200 poor children were assembled. After tea, as they sat together, I asked, ‘How many of you live in a one-roomed home?’ Every hand but seven went up. ‘How many live in a two-roomed home?’ Seven hands went up. ‘How many live in three rooms?’ None. ‘How many of you live in a furnished room?’ All but twelve. So that, with the exception of those twelve children, all the rest were practically homeless; for the wretched contents of a furnished room are not the property of the tenant, and the rent of one shilling a day or

more is paid, in the great majority of cases, daily.

“I have within the past few days had a census taken of one or two typical alleys and houses in my parish. In one alley there are ten houses—fifty-one rooms, nearly all about eight by nine feet—and two hundred and fifty-four people. In six instances only do two people occupy one room, and in other rooms the number varied from three to nine. In another court with six houses and twenty-two rooms were eighty-four people, again six, seven, eight and nine being the number living in one room in several instances. In one house with eight rooms are forty-five persons, one room containing nine persons, one eight, two seven, and another six. For these forty-five people there is one office, and in the case of nearly all tenement houses the washing for the family must be done by the aid of a pail which is put on the stove and serves for a copper on washing days.

“There are practically no ovens, and such a thing as a home-made rice pudding is unknown to the children. The Whitechapel Poor Law Union contains an enormous proportion of very poor, of casual labourers, and of men whom you can never describe as artizans. The poorer the person the greater the necessity for him to



DESERTED MISSION HALL, NOW FOREIGN CLUB, STEPNEY

live near his work. In many cases the very nature of a man's work compels him to live near it.

"May I instance Spitalfields Market? On market days in the summer the porters and others begin work at 4 o'clock in the morning, and throughout the year work begins every morning at 5 o'clock.

"What chance, too, has the dock labourer of work if he must live miles away from the docks and take a railway journey before he can apply for, and begin, work? Men, women, and children are not herded together as we find them from choice.

"Necessity compels them to live within a certain area, and the smallness and uncertainty of their earnings, together with the high rent, deprive them of the power to live under proper conditions.

"It may be fairly said that the alien has in this district been the cause largely of this increase in rent and of the decrease in the earning power of certain of the poor. What is, what must be, the moral result of life under such conditions as abound in this Union? Depend upon it the character of the new century will be mainly determined by the kind of houses out of which the children come. Is it *possible* for a family to

carry on all the duties of home life decently in one or two rooms? In spite of every effort made by parents anxious about their children's home life, wherever crowding and mingling of the sexes exist, there is certain to be a familiarity which must be deplored. It is a distinct loss in the character of a nation when its people are not shocked by the sights and sounds which ought to shock them. It was upon this very question of the housing of the poor that a Royal Commission once asked Lord Shaftesbury the question, 'My lord, in your opinion does the pig make the sty or the sty the pig?' Without hesitation the noble earl replied: 'Unquestionably, the sty makes the pig.' And even if the pig is a poor animal at best, he is certain to be made the poorer by being harboured in a foul and reeking gutter, with nothing but refuse for his litter, and nothing but garbage for his food."

Or, to put it in the phrase of Zola, "*L'homme gâte le milieu, et puis le milieu gâte l'homme.*"

CHAPTER II

THE HOUSING PROBLEM

No question is more important to the English East Ender than the question of house room. His sentiment is particularly strong upon this subject, and it is justified by his needs. I fully concur in the opinion expressed before the Royal Commission by Mr. Harold Hodge, editor of the *Saturday Review*, and for many years a member of the Mansion House Housing Council.

“The East Ender would rather be deprived of almost anything, he would rather lose his situation far, than he would lose his lodging. I have come across a great many cases of people who have been days and could not find house room, and for a man with a family of several children it is extremely difficult. So I think that makes it sufficiently intelligible why the English population feels so very strongly and bitterly on the point. And I do fear if something is not done a very unpleasant state of

things socially may arise, and I also think that—it may sound alarmist—if any persons chose to make mischief, to organize the matter and go over there with the wish to stir up bad feeling against the alien population, he would find it extremely easy to do so.”

As a fact, the unpleasant state of things socially and the bad feeling which Mr. Hodge apprehends have already arisen. A racial riot, arising from a trivial incident, occurred quite recently in Bethnal Green. Many hundreds of people were involved, and the police declared that the state of feeling between Jew and Gentile gave them serious anxiety.

To the native workman displaced by the foreign immigrant it is no consolation to be told that improved transport facilities enable him to live outside the congested district. The necessity of living near his work or near those places where work is likely to be obtained, such as the docks, the markets, and the City, is as urgent for him as is the necessity which impels the aliens to congregate near their synagogue and in close contact with their fellow countrymen. In this connection the working hours which prevail in the district and the domestic arrangements which they necessitate must be borne in mind. There are many instances of

families which have left the crowded areas and have returned.

"They take points like this," said Mr. Hodge. "When your work begins early in the morning, at eight o'clock or seven o'clock"—it often begins at five or six—"you have to catch a train the first thing in the morning right through the winter, and they find it is a very serious strain. They often have to go without any breakfast and then they have to come back."

The English working man asks, with undeniable justice, why he should be turned out of the most convenient neighbourhood to make room for a foreign population, and why his rent should be raised from 50 to 100 per cent. in consequence of the demand for house accommodation which foreigners have created. These questions are daily put to me. I confess I am unable to answer them. I cannot understand why a single family, much less thousands of families, should be forced to submit to displacement in this way. Yet in all that has been said and written by the advocates of unrestricted immigration I have searched in vain for a word of sympathy with these evicted people. It would seem that they ought to look upon it as an advantage to have their homes

taken from them, and that those who venture to protest are anti-Semites and unworthy of consideration.

In no district is the pressure of alien immigration felt more severely than in Stepney. The following figures show to what extent over-crowding prevails there: The total population in 1901 was 298,600. Those inhabiting tenements of one to four rooms numbered 209,200, or 70 per cent. of the total population.

The persons returned as "over-crowded" in 1901 amounted to 99,179, an increase of 10,496 since the year 1891. This means that one-third of the population is over-crowded. Stepney is the only district where over-crowding has increased and is increasing. In every other London borough it either has diminished or is diminishing.

Congestion has reached this point in Stepney during the decade in spite of an extensive emigration of the native population. At a moderate estimate, 52,000* English people left this district during that period. Their displacement was, beyond question, chiefly due to the continuous inflow of aliens. The same process is in operation in all the adjoining districts.

* Evidence of Mr. Edgar Harper, Statistical Officer of the London County Council, before the Royal Commission.

I think it was Dr. Johnson who said that he had never met a man who could not bear the misfortunes of others with Christian fortitude. And I have observed that this wholesale displacement of our people in the East End is regarded with much philosophic calm by their fellow countrymen who live at a distance, whose homes have not been invaded, and who are not subjected to the daily terror of being turned into the streets. To them it is easy to preach about the traditional policy of England, &c.

The housing problem has been much in men's minds. I should be interested to know how it is proposed to solve it if, in addition to providing decent homes for our own working classes, we are to undertake the accommodation of the houseless poor of Eastern Europe. Great and costly schemes have been completed, and others are in contemplation, for the better housing of wage-earners in cities. Private and municipal enterprise are alike engaged in these efforts, but in the East End it is the foreigners who profit by them. Almost every new building erected is in whole or in part occupied by them, and even in the magnificent dwellings built by the London County Council on the Boundary Street site in Shoreditch and Bethnal

Green we find already that out of 1034 persons accommodated 202 are aliens.

It is self-evident that the absorption in the East End of more than 80,000 people from outside cannot have been accomplished without a great disturbance of the previous population. I have endeavoured to show the extent of that disturbance and the hardship and suffering which have attended it. I will now attempt to explain in some detail how the native population is got rid of.

The demand for house room has brought about a house famine with famine prices. This in turn has led to speculation in house property, which is continually changing hands, each time for bigger sums; and each change is accompanied by a rise of rent. In this speculation the alien Jew has taken a prominent part. Legal formalities and conveyancing have been dispensed with by him. Purchases and sales are carried out without formal documents, and without solicitors' costs. Thus small men with little or no capital are able to take a hand in the game. The bigger men deal on a larger scale.

Whole blocks of houses are purchased by them with the object of exploiting the needs of the alien population and their willingness to overcrowd. The English tenants are in-

variably turned out. I know many cases in which they have been dispossessed after tenancies of thirty or forty years' duration.

When the property is transferred to the new owner rents are immediately raised. The increase is usually about 100 per cent.; it is seldom less, sometimes more. For example, houses lately rented by English people at 10s. a week are now let to aliens at 18s., 20s., and 21s. In other cases the rent has been raised from 9s. to 17s. and from 8s. to 16s. 6d. In the case of a "house farmer," who was recently convicted at Worship Street Police Court for permitting overcrowding, the solicitor to the Finsbury Borough Council stated that the man's practice was to get possession of a house rented at about £38 a year, put a few articles of furniture in it, and then let out the rooms at 1s. or 1s. 3d. a night. By this method the house would produce an income of about £128 or £130 a year.

The exploitation of the aliens and the expulsion of the English tenants is not a monopoly of Jewish owners and speculators, though they form a large majority of those engaged in the business. The temptation to make money easily has attracted others, and some English landlords have turned out native tenants to make

room for foreigners, who pay better and more regularly. Besides, they make no inconvenient demands for repairs and improvement.

Albert Square in the Borough of Stepney supplies an instance of lucrative speculation on the larger scale. This property was purchased for £22,000 by a Jewish capitalist in 1899. The rents then obtained from the houses were, on an average, £35 a year. The new owner immediately erected small workshops in the yards of the dwellings and introduced alien tenants. At the same time he announced his intention of destroying the Square as an open space by building over it. This led to much agitation, and the garden was preserved to the public by the intervention of the London County Council.

The result of the speculation was that when the purchaser appeared before the arbitrator appointed to determine the price to be paid by the Council for the central ground, he was able to say that the rent of £35 a year had been increased generally to £65, in one case to £70, and in another to £75. The arbitrator awarded him £10,560 for the garden of the Square, and the price was no doubt calculated on the value of the land for building purposes. In this case it is likely that the speculator's enterprise was

rewarded within two years by a profit of well over 100 per cent. when the increased selling value of the surrounding premises is taken into consideration.

The house famine has brought into existence another evil known as "key money." This, I believe, is peculiar to the East End, and is entirely attributable to the foreign colony. It is a bribe or premium which is paid by a person desirous of obtaining dwelling accommodation either to the outgoing tenant or to the landlord to secure possession. The amount varies from a few shillings to £25 and upwards, and is a formidable addition to the already excessive rents which are demanded.

It need hardly be said that when offered to the landlord it often constitutes an effective inducement to him to get rid of the tenant whom he is desired to dispossess, and when paid to the outgoing occupier it is in the nature both of a bribe and a threat, for the person who can afford "key money" is usually in a position to pay an increased rent. Out of 686 cases in which inquiries were made, it was found that "key money" passed in 347 cases. In 86 cases deposits amounting to £687 were paid to the landlord, and in 261 cases deposits amounting to £3070 were paid to the outgoing

tenant. In some instances the payments were made by British tenants ; but obviously this is a system which is likely to press as an almost intolerable hardship on the English working man.

Precisely because the alien is willing to endure overcrowding to a degree which English people find unendurable, he is able to comply with these exactions. It is not necessary to dilate upon the sanitary conditions and upon the absence of decency which this overcrowding implies.

A corner of the curtain behind which these horrors are hidden is sometimes lifted and the public gets a glimpse of the real state of affairs ; but what they see on these rare occasions is soon forgotten, and interest is diverted to the next sensation. The fire at 72 Royal Mint Street, in November 1902, in which three people lost their lives, supplies an instance of what I mean. At the inquest it was elicited that between thirty and forty persons were living in the house and that " the roof even was let out in the summer time." The householder paid 13s. rent, received 30s. by sub-letting, and lived rent free into the bargain. This is by no means worse than the normal, and it is a faithful copy of what may be seen in the worst quarters of the worst towns in Russia.

It is not overcrowding alone which enables the alien to compete successfully with the native worker for house room. It is the adoption—or, as I shall show later on, the maintenance—of a disastrously low standard of living.

Before touching on the question of sweating, it is necessary to define what sweating is. The House of Lords Committee, 1888–90, of which Lord Derby was Chairman, defined it as unusually low wages, excessive hours of labour, and insanitary work-places. Any one of these factors in any extreme form constitutes a sweating condition, and persons working under any or all of them are working under the sweating system. I do not doubt that if a thorough inquiry could be made, it would be found that a large proportion of the alien population of the East End are sweated within the meaning of the word as thus defined.

Earnings vary, of course, among the foreigners, but among the new-comers (“greeners”) they may be as low as 6s. a week for fifteen hours’ work a day at trousers pressing. Cases are known where “greeners” have accepted 3s. 6d. a week with sixteen hours of labour daily. The *Social Gazette*, the official newspaper of the Salvation Army, on May 24, 1902, gave an instance of a Jewish tailor who had agreed to

“finish” 300 pairs of trousers at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pair. These trousers would sell at $1s. 6d.$ each pair.

In the boot trade the sweating employer now only receives $3s.$ for “finishing” a dozen pairs of shoes. Out of this he has to supply all the material used and pay his people, who sometimes work from six in the morning till midnight. The price has fallen very much during the last ten years owing to the incessant inflow of helpless labour from abroad, which introduces a constant “cutting.” The boot finishers themselves, often housed in cellar dwellings, earn $12s.$ a week by working sixteen or seventeen hours a day.

In the cheap fur trade the conditions are, if possible, worse. The work of softening the inferior skins is done exclusively by aliens. The following description of the process is given by a Jewish writer : “The skins are placed in large casks or vats and carefully trodden out by labourers stripped to their shirts which are often fastened over the casks to keep in the heat. The skins so treated are generally used for making rugs, and are usually rough American skins of little value. As ‘time is money’ it frequently happens that these skins have pieces of bone, &c., adhering to them which often cause dangerous wounds of a septic

character to the bare-footed labourer. Wages run from 3s. to 8s. per week, with a working day of twelve to sixteen hours. The workman must eat his meals standing in the vat so as not to let the skins cool down. The employers are usually Germans or Jews and the factory inspectors visits are like those of the angels, few and far between."

But it must not be supposed that those who undertake this wretched toil do so invariably, or even usually, without ambition. The end in view is to become an employer, to use, perhaps to import, cheap labour from abroad, to exploit other "greeners" as the newcomer has himself been exploited. The result is seen in lower and lower wages, a lower and lower standard of living, and a cycle of industry which too often moves from the condition of being sweated to that of sweating others, and so to a more or less fraudulent bankruptcy.

I have spoken of "a lower and lower standard of living." A few facts will enable the reader to infer what this standard now is. One of the Borough Councillors of Stepney has given the following instances which came under his own observation: In one case he found twenty-seven people working in two small rooms, with mattresses all round the room, and their food

was black bread and coffee. He telegraphed to the factory inspector, who got them turned out. In another case he found twenty-one women working in a kitchen of 16 feet by 12 feet and 7 feet high, beds being all round the room, the food being black bread and coffee, and their pay 8*d.* or 9*d.* a week.

Can cheap production which involves such conditions of living as this be rightly regarded as a benefit to the consumer and the country?

It need hardly be said that squalor and poverty are not universal among the alien population, and that it is not the Jew only who "sweats" and is "sweated." I wish to safeguard myself expressly against the supposition that I desire to enforce any such conclusions as those. My object has been to show that unrestricted immigration does mean extensive displacement, displacement *en bloc* from large areas, of the English inhabitants; that it does imply rents for dwelling room which are prohibitively high for English workers; and that it does favour and maintain the sweating system and tend to lower the standard of living almost indefinitely.

CHAPTER III

ENCROACHMENT

THERE is no more effective test of the increase of the foreign population than that supplied by the Board Schools. I am aware that, technically, I am wrong in speaking of the increase of the foreign population in this connection ; since, for purposes of enumeration, the children born in this country of foreign parents are considered to be English. It is scarcely necessary to labour the point that the first generation of children of the Russian Jews in the East End are only English by a legal fiction.

The Jewish community maintains schools which are admirably conducted and provide education for great numbers of pupils. But these by no means fulfil all the requirements, and in the Tower Hamlets division of the School Board for London, out of 98,000 children attending, 25,000 are Jewish. Of these, 6180 are taught in the schools entirely maintained out of Hebrew funds. Sixteen Board Schools

have been practically Judaized. These are conducted as Jewish schools, and the Jewish holidays are observed in them. Very few Christian children are found in these schools, which afford accommodation for 15,056 pupils, and are practically full. 2601 Jewish children are taught in schools at which there is a mixed attendance of Hebrew and Christian pupils, and 1628 Jewish children are taught in the Voluntary and Church Schools of the district. At one of these, St. Stephen's, Spitalfields, provision has been made for the Hebrew children to be taught their religion at the school. In other cases arrangements are made by the Jewish authorities to supply religious instruction for the Hebrew pupils.

The rapidity with which the schools in certain districts are being converted into Hebrew seminaries is strikingly shown by such instances as that of the Baker Street Board School in Stepney. Here, in 1895, there were 206 English boys and 73 foreigners. In 1901 there were 280 foreigners and 28 English boys. For the whole school, boys and girls, the figures in 1902 showed 86 English pupils and 991 foreigners. In the Christian Street Board School, a fine building opened in 1901, out of 927 pupils only 15 are Christians.

In the Hanbury Street School in Whitechapel the percentage of Jewish to Christian pupils is 98.3. Of the Jewish children 35.2 per cent.

are born abroad, and even of those in the infant school, nearly all under seven years of age, upwards of 33 per cent. were not even English by the accident of birth in this country.

The figures for the Rutland Street Board School give a good illustration of the processes of dispossession and substitution of which the English East Ender complains. On January 1, 1892, there were 862 Christian and 207 Jewish pupils; proportion of Jews 19.3 per cent. On January 1, 1897, there were 685 Christian and 453 Jewish pupils; proportion of Jews 39.8 per cent. On January 1, 1902, there were 268 Christian and 878 Jewish pupils; proportion of Jews 76.6 per cent. It is needless to multiply instances, and it is hardly necessary to emphasize the point that we are training a generation of aliens to compete with our own people on the very ground from which they have been expropriated.

It must not be supposed that I mention this matter of the schools in order to suggest that education should be withheld from these foreign children. They are here, and, clearly,

we must do the best we can for them. But it is a burden cast upon us from abroad. Moreover, the children in the foreign quarters of the East End are far more numerous than would be the case if the inhabitants were English. As a consequence, a greater number of schools have to be built. This involves an extensive destruction of house property, and, as a result, a further displacement of population. It is not to be wondered at that discontent incessantly grows stronger among the English people in the neighbourhoods affected.

It is sometimes argued that, as the Jewish aliens in common with other classes pay school rates, the number of their children educated at the rate-supported schools cannot justly be complained of, seeing that no unfair burden is laid upon the rest of the community. This contention does not fully meet the facts ; for the percentage of school rates paid by the alien population in no way corresponds to the percentage of alien children for whom education is provided. But the essence of the matter is, as I have said, that an educational equipment is being given to thousands of foreign children which will enable them to compete, under conditions as advantageous as possible, with our own people.

Before discussing this aspect of the question

I wish to repeat and emphasize my statement that these considerations are not here advanced with any purpose of restricting education for the foreign population. The object in view is solely to show one of the results of the immigration movement as it immediately affects certain London districts, and will inevitably and before long affect much wider areas. It will be urged that the arguments I employ are precisely those used against the Jews in Russia and Roumania, and that, in putting forward these contentions, I am merely giving expression in England to the fear so forcibly expressed in Eastern Europe that the Jewish people, if they are allowed a free hand, will eventually monopolize all that is worth having in the countries they inhabit.

But it is plain that there is no analogy whatever between the difficulty in Eastern Europe and the difficulty in the East End of London. In Russia and Roumania employment is plentiful. These countries are, industrially, in their infancy; they are backward and undeveloped in almost every respect. Openings in life could be found for tens of thousands of Jewish people without detriment of any kind to the native population; indeed, either country would benefit greatly if this were done.

In England we are confronted by pressing problems of an entirely different sort. Every trade, occupation, and profession is overstocked already. The country has probably reached, if it has not passed, the zenith of its industrial development. Many industries are on the wane, and if blind adhesion to the policy of Free Imports be persisted in, the numbers of our unemployed must steadily increase. Numerous societies, which collect and control very large sums of money, are busily engaged in the endeavour to relieve the ever-augmenting difficulty which the native population finds in obtaining employment by sending emigrants to the Colonies, and these are men carefully chosen for their fitness. The advent of the aliens operates to stultify these efforts. In a Memorandum on the immigration of foreigners into the United Kingdom, presented to the House of Commons in 1887, Mr. Henry G. Calcraft, on behalf of the Board of Trade, pointed out that "emigration can be no relief to the congestion of population at home if the place of those who emigrate is partly taken by a still poorer population."

In Russia and Roumania, on the other hand, there is room and to spare for every one born in the country. It would be perfectly easy to

provide house accommodation for the Jewish population if they were not driven into the towns. Even as it is, the housing problem is not a pressing one, and there would be no question of displacement of the Christian inhabitants. How great is the contrast in our own towns, where housing room is unprocurable. And it must be remembered that the Jewish inhabitants of Russia and Roumania are part and parcel of the population of those countries; they are subjects for whom the respective Governments are responsible. It is the shifting of the responsibility on to our shoulders, already overburdened by the necessary care of our own people, to which objection may rightly be taken.

It is sometimes argued in this connection that aliens and their children flock into, and exclusively follow, certain callings. Even at the present time this is, largely, a mistaken belief. A few years hence it will be almost entirely erroneous. The aliens in the East End have already taken up the most varied avocations. The great Hebrew Charities often give them the advantage of a subsidy when they adopt some occupation which relieves the crowded Jewish industries of their added competition.

It is the policy of the Jewish Board of

Guardians in London to apprentice young persons to many crafts and trades. In the year 1900, 741 Jewish apprentices were serving in as many as eighty-four different branches of industry. These numbers merely give an indication of what is going on generally, and refer only to those in whom the Board has taken an interest. It must always be remembered that the openings in the shoemaking, tailoring, and cabinet-making trades are by no means unlimited. They are, moreover, seasonal trades and fluctuate widely between periods of activity and stagnation. The competition of cheap and unskilled labour in these employments has already so reduced prices and wages that a living can with difficulty be made in them.

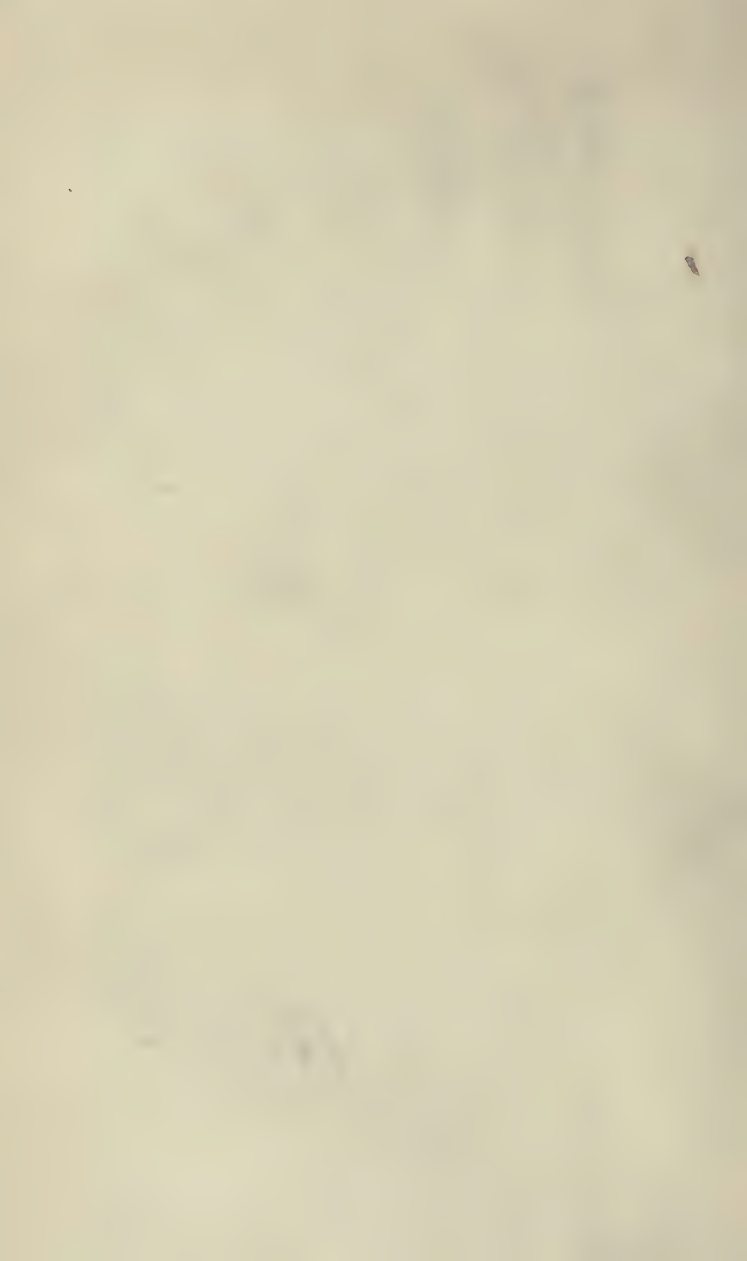
The industries developed by aliens are not large industries and cannot absorb labour on an extensive scale. Consequently there is an ever-increasing tendency for the surplus foreign workers to press into other occupations. In the East End evidences of this process are everywhere apparent. In all branches of employment a greater or less number of foreigners are now to be found. The alien carpenters, plumbers, glaziers, and paperhangers are becoming more and more numerous and competing



ALIEN BUTCHERS, STEPNEY



ALIEN FISH-WIVES, STEPNEY



more strongly every day with the English workman.

It is, however, among the shopkeepers and retailers that the competition of the foreign element has been most keenly felt. Among these great suffering and hardship have resulted. Hundreds upon hundreds of Jewish and foreign shopkeepers have taken the place of English retailers. I know many streets in which hardly a single English shop remains. As the foreign population increases it becomes more and more self-supplying, less and less dependent upon the people it replaces. The aliens of the East End have not to go beyond members of their own community in order to satisfy all their requirements.

It has been said that the English shopkeepers are boycotted. The term, in my opinion, is misapplied. I do not believe that there has been deliberate boycotting, though many of the English tradesmen of Stepney have been quite as effectually ruined by the foreigners as they would have been had they been Irish loyalists at the mercy of the Land League in the old days.

The process is one of the inevitable results of that substitution of a foreign for a British population to which those who are condemned

to see their homes taken away from them must submit. If the influx from abroad is to continue unchecked and is allowed to concentrate itself on this part of London, the present grievance gives but a foretaste of what is in store for East End tradesmen generally. As the tide of foreign immigration advances their business will gradually diminish and finally collapse.

The alien naturally desires to cater for his fellows, and as soon as a few of them settle in a street a small shop dealing in miscellaneous articles is certain to be opened for their use. That they should resort to it is perfectly natural. An Englishman in a Russian town would be equally inclined to deal at a shop where his language was spoken and articles suited to his habits and requirements were sold. In the case of the foreign Jews in London this natural tendency is reinforced by strong religious prejudice and even by definite religious law. There is, moreover, a praiseworthy desire among them to help one another, and money spent among themselves is, in a sense, money kept in the family.

All this is simple enough to explain and to understand, but whether its simplicity is any consolation to the tradesmen who are supplanted

in their business and deprived of their living is another matter. The result is patent to the casual observer who takes a stroll through the East End of to-day. He will find every trade and business in foreign hands. The money-changers, the grocers, the tobacconists, the watchmakers, the druggists, the hardware and the wood merchants, the plumbers, the house decorators, the furniture sellers, the gas-fitters, the printers, the publishers, the wine and spirit store keepers, the oilmen and provision merchants, the umbrella makers and bicycle sellers, not to speak of the fish-mongers, bakers, jewellers, dressmakers, refreshment-room keepers, milk sellers, butchers, newsvendors, fruiterers—all these and many more are aliens. Even post offices and shipping agencies are managed by foreigners.

Only those who are ignorant of what has happened in Manchester, Liverpool, Hull, Leeds, and other large English towns, will assert that the problem which I have discussed is a local difficulty, merely one of the problems of East End life. Jewish Boards of Guardians exist in Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Hull, and where there is a Jewish Board of Guardians there is a large alien community

which has to deal with poverty on a formidable scale.

As far back as 1887, the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade reported the following circumstances :

“ In Leeds the growth of the Jewish population has been strikingly sudden and rapid. Twenty-five years ago there were not a sufficient number of Jews in the town to form a congregation, for which ten men are requisite. Mr. Abrahams was of opinion that there may now be 8000 foreign Jews in Leeds. But, to be well within bounds, he limited himself to the general statement that the Jewish population is not less than from 6000 to 7000. Recently the influx has been heavy and continuous, and the immigrants continue to arrive every day. There is here a Board of Guardians, but its resources are limited. Most of the people who arrive, however, either come to friends or have sufficient means to enable them to live until they find work. As elsewhere, these people may be almost said to form a foreign colony in the heart of an English town, and Leeds has now its Jewish quarter just as the East End of London has. They have settled down in a district called The Leylands, and have taken such complete possession of it that in the Board

School of the locality 75 per cent. of the children are Jews. The streets in The Leylands are beginning to assume distinctly foreign characteristics. There are 1200 men employed under the sweating system in Leeds. Women to men would seem to be in the proportion of about six to four. We get thus a total of 3000 people employed by the sub-contractors in the clothing trade of Leeds."

It would not be an exaggerated forecast to say that every considerable commercial centre in England will be confronted by the problems of congestion, sweating, and "the aloofness of Israel" if the present conditions of free and unregulated immigration continue. Foreigners have penetrated in large numbers to the Scottish mines, where their presence is a burning grievance to the native miners, especially to those who are out of employment, and where their ignorance of the English language has been and is a source of danger to life and limb. In Lanarkshire, on a moderate computation, at least 1320 aliens are already employed, and their numbers are steadily increasing. They form between 4 and 5 per cent. of the mining population.

In fact the question is a national question. It already affects, and will affect on a rapidly

extending scale, the housing of the poor, the rate of wages in an increasing number of industries, and the standard of living, as well as the utility of an emigration of native-born people which is more than compensated by this inflow of foreigners. It is a difficulty which must be faced as a new factor in our national life, and before any satisfactory and permanent solution of the problem can be found it must be studied thoroughly.

I do not think it is possible to form a sound and final decision on such a subject as this unless one is acquainted with the circumstances in which the Hebrew emigrants from Eastern Europe live in the countries from which they come; these determine their customs and aptitudes, and, to a very large extent, their character as citizens, so that their probable worth or harmfulness as an element of the population depends upon the conditions to which they are subjected in Russia and the adjoining countries. And, in order to learn whether the immigration, if unchecked, is likely to be a lasting movement, it is advisable to make an inquiry on the spot into the causes which impel the people to leave their homes. With this object in view I proceeded upon a journey to Eastern Europe when Parliament

rose in the summer of 1902, in order to see for myself the circumstances that obtain there, and to consult Jewish and Gentile authorities upon the question of the Hebrew migration to the West.

CHAPTER IV

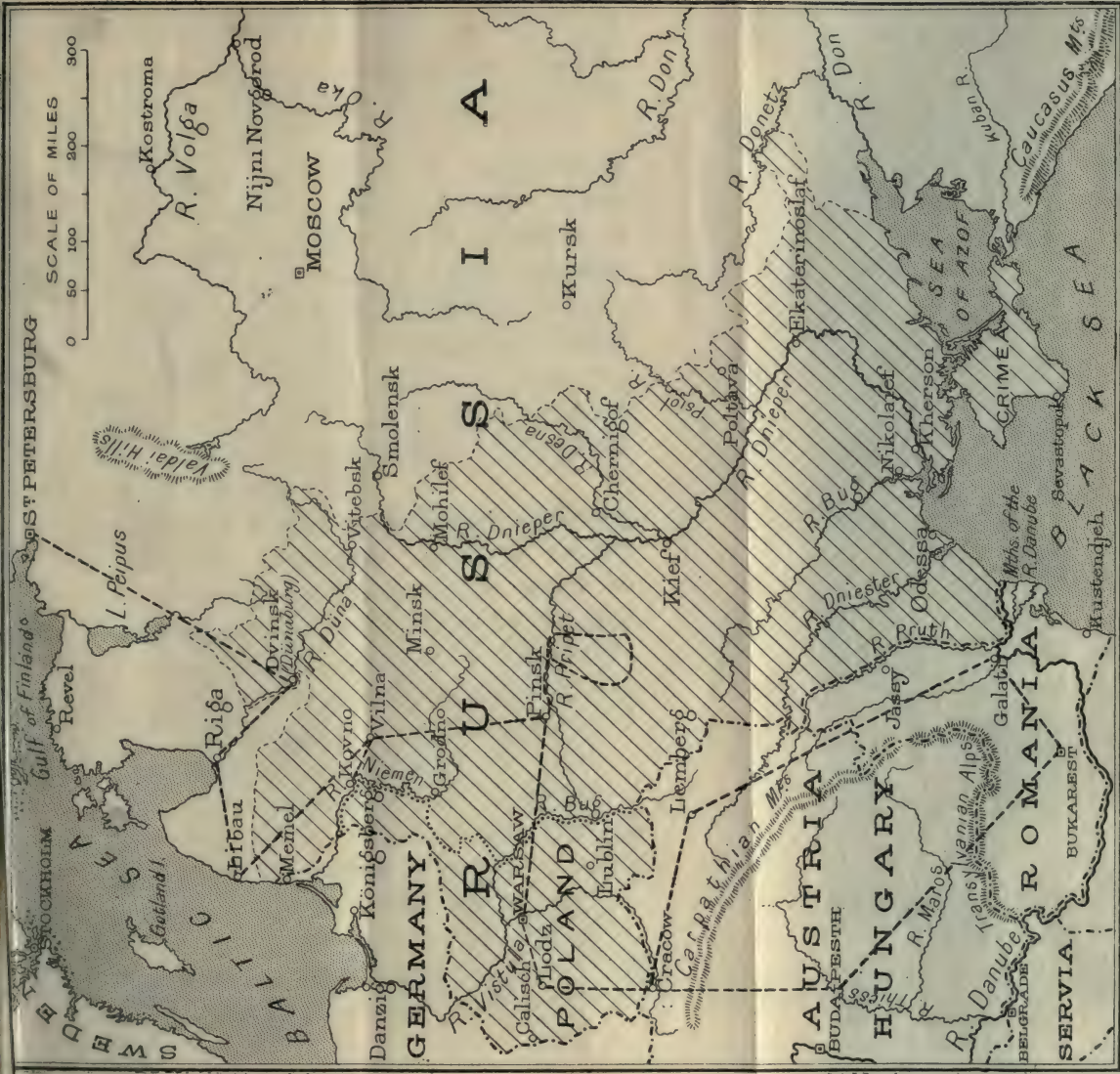
PERSECUTION

IN August 1902 I left England, and proceeded *viâ* Berlin to St. Petersburg. I took with me letters of introduction from Lord Lansdowne, and through the ambassador at St. Petersburg obtained an interview with M. Plehve, the Minister of the Interior. He was kind enough to grant me a general recommendation to the governors and other officials of the various provinces through which I proposed to travel. From St. Petersburg I went to Dvinsk (Dunabourg), in the Jewish Pale, and thence to Riga, where I had the benefit of the long experience of Mr. Woodhouse, the Consul-General. From Riga I proceeded to Libau, one of the ports at which large numbers of emigrants embark for England. From Libau I went to Vilna, one of the most congested cities of the Jewish Pale. From Vilna I travelled to Pinsk, a town of 40,000 inhabitants, 37,000 of whom are Jews, and from Pinsk I made a journey of 150 miles

ST. PETERSBURG

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200 300





into the interior of the country in order to study the condition of the people in the villages and small towns.

From Pinsk I went to Warsaw. Here nearly 300,000 Jews have to find a living. From Warsaw I visited Lodz, the Manchester of Eastern Europe and centre of a great spinning industry, with 120,000 Jewish inhabitants. From Lodz I went to Cracow, the ancient capital of Galicia, and had an opportunity of inquiring into the condition of the Jews in this part of Austria, where it is probably worse than in any other district of Europe.

From Cracow I went to Bucharest *viâ* Budapesth in order to satisfy myself as to the position of affairs in Roumania, to which so much attention was recently drawn by the note of the United States Government to the Powers. Having visited Galatz, I returned *viâ* Lemberg in Galicia to Berlin, and ended my journey in Hamburg, where I was able to study the very complete arrangements made for the control of the emigration traffic. The distance covered from Berlin and back was about 6000 miles, and occupied rather more than two months.

Throughout my travels I had the advantage of the assistance of many people, both Jew and Gentile, who take an interest in this question,

and I am not without hope that the result of my investigations may prove of service by supplying material for a decision both as to the causes of Jewish immigration and as to the best means of controlling the inflow into this country.

As I have already said, the majority of the alien immigrants whom this country receives from Eastern Europe and with whom we have to deal are Jews, and any one inquiring into the subject will at once be confronted by the word "persecution." Most people know in a vague sort of way that the Jews in Russia are not well treated, and that there is special legislation concerning them. Most of us have also heard something about the Jewish Pale, the May Laws, and such matters. Probably few of us, on the other hand, have any very clear ideas on these subjects.

It would in the first instance seem necessary to define what is really meant by "persecution." Measures which in one country would be called by that name are in another considered as a part of every-day life. From an English point of view every one in Russia is more or less persecuted. If an agricultural labourer in England, who wished to migrate to the neighbouring town, had to obtain written permission from the

parish council to do so, and had to have that permission renewed every year, we should say that that man was persecuted. If to be in possession of any books except those sanctioned by Government were an offence ; if, in this country, when it was intended to deliver a lecture on any subject, however innocent, the full text had to be submitted in writing to the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, and even then permission were rarely given ; if a newspaper editor were prevented from publishing anything without the consent of the Government censor ; if people were forbidden to entertain their friends in their own houses without informing the police we should consider that all this was at least very harsh treatment ; but these things, and many others equally strange to English ideas, are part and parcel of the ordinary conditions in Russia.

Quite apart from any special legislation against the Jews, it is a fundamental principle of Russian policy to Russianize, as far as possible, every subject of the Czar. Church and State are one, and consequently there is an inherent dislike and distrust of those who do not recognize in the Emperor the embodiment of all power, both spiritual and temporal.

In this respect Russian policy does not differ from that of other nations so much as is

commonly supposed. America expects all her immigrants to become Americanized, or at least that their sons and daughters should conform to the national type. The Kaiser does not tolerate the maintenance of Polish national tradition any more than does the Czar, and German policy in Alsace-Lorraine has been governed by the necessity of Germanizing those provinces as much as French policy has been directed to Gallicizing Nice and Savoy. Even in England the aspirations of the Irish towards distinct nationality are not favourably regarded by the majority of the people. The end in view is in all cases the same. But the methods employed are in general harsher in Russia than elsewhere, and in some cases are frankly brutal.

I wish to emphasize the point that it is not the Jews alone who come under the iron heel of Russian administration. As regards their religion they are under no disabilities whatsoever. In every town inhabited by them the synagogue occupies a prominent place, and its congregation is never disturbed. In this respect the Children of Israel are better off than their Catholic fellow subjects. In the interior—in “deep” Russia—Catholic churches have been not only closed but confiscated. In some cases the buildings were blown up by dynamite. It

is said that the explosive was placed under the very altars, and that by Government officials. There have been sanguinary encounters between Catholic congregations and the police ; and as recently as 1894, at Kroze, many hundreds of Catholic people were killed or wounded. The churches allowed to remain open for worship according to the Catholic faith cannot be repaired or repainted without special permission. Priests and bishops were, and still are, often arrested and exiled.

The disabilities of the Jews affect their civil, political, social and economic life. But even in this respect their lot does not differ materially from that of the Roman Catholic Poles. Restrictions as to right of residence, of occupation, and of educational facilities are enforced against both. There is no distinctively *religious* persecution of the Jews. The methods of the Russian Government in dealing with other classes of its subjects show at least equal severity. The cruel conditions imposed upon the Finns with the object of stamping out their sentiment of nationality are as notorious as is the persecution to which Stundists, Doukhobors, and others have been subjected. Compared with these communities, the Jews may almost be said to enjoy lenient treatment.

A Jew who consents to be baptized ceases in the eyes of the law to be a Jew at all, but until then whole volumes of special laws apply to him, and in order to appreciate the nature and extent of the persecution from which he is alleged to suffer it is necessary to have some understanding of these special enactments.

They may be summed up as follows :

The Russian Government divides Russian subjects into two categories, viz., native born and foreigners. To the second group belong :

(1) The Siberian Kirghese.

(2) The Samoyedes.

(3) The nomads of the Government of Stavropol.

(4) The inhabitants of the Comandor Islands.

(5) The Calmucs of Astrakhan.

(6) The tribes east of the Caspian.

(7) The Jews.

Thus the Jews, who for several centuries have been Russian subjects, among whom are to be found some of the most cultivated and intelligent people of the country, and who have contributed largely to its wealth and prosperity, are classed with people of the lowest standard of civilization. Moreover, all these different peoples have the same legal status as the native-born Russian, whereas the Jews only enjoy

such rights so far as the special laws allow them.

The general tendency of these laws is to prevent them from spreading into the inner provinces of Russia, and, in pursuance of this policy, to restrict the Hebrew population to the Kingdom of Poland and the Western provinces — originally Polish — which had been inhabited by them since the Middle Ages. These provinces, not including the ten governments of Poland, are fifteen in number, viz., Vilna, Grodno, Minsk, Kovno, Volhynia, Podolsk, Poltava, Taurida, Kherson, Bessarabia, Vitebsk, Mohilev, Tschernigov, Kiev (except the town), and Ekaterinoslav. In Kurland only those Jewish families may reside which had settled there before 1835.

This territory comprises what in England is known as the Jewish Pale. It contains 313,608 square miles, with a population of 33,070,747, of whom 3,954,973 are returned as in the towns. To this must be added the ten governments of the Kingdom of Poland with 43,073 square miles and 9,455,943 inhabitants, of whom 2,558,920 live in the towns. The total number of Jews in the Russian Empire, according to the census of 1897, was 5,189,401. Of these 1,316,576 were in Poland and 3,607,373 were

in the Russian Pale. Outside the Pale there were 265,432 Jews, of whom 158,393 were in European Russia and 104,677 in Asiatic Russia; 1382 Jews were returned as *en voyage*.

In all legislation which affects the Jews there is an obvious intention on the part of the Russian Government to suppress them and prevent them from taking their natural place in the social and official life of the country. This is part of a general policy with regard to members of communions other than the orthodox Greek Church; for instance, Roman Catholics, as I have already said. But a Roman Catholic Pole in sympathy with Russian policy is under no disabilities, while a Jew, however loyal, would be totally excluded from participation in official life. According to the letter of the law in force, only those Jews are allowed to reside outside the Pale who are :

- (1) Merchants of the first guild.
- (2) Persons with qualifying diplomas of the universities.
- (3) The old so-called Nicolai soldiers, who served for twenty-five years in the army, together with their wives and children.
- (4) Students of higher educational institutions.

(5) Apothecaries, dentists, surgeons, and mid-wives, and

(6) Skilled artisans. The names of these however, remain on the lists of the community of the Pale to which they belong, and they only retain the right to live outside its limits upon the condition that their passes are regularly renewed. They must have learned their handicraft in a guild, and must earn their living by their handicraft.

Merchants of the first guild have to pay about £90 annually to their guild, and represent a very small percentage of the total of Jews in Russia. Again, the possibility of belonging to a learned profession is but slight, as the chance of obtaining a place in any of the middle or higher schools is, for a Hebrew, very slender. I shall refer to the question of education later on, but would remark here that in the middle schools, gymnasia, and Realschulen the ratio of Jewish to Christian pupils must not exceed 5 per cent to 10 per cent, and in the higher schools 3 per cent to 5 per cent.

The Nicolai soldiers, naturally, are but few, As to the freedom given to Jewish artizans the privilege is more apparent than real, inasmuch as it is a difficult matter for a Jewish workman to obtain admission into a guild. The tendency

of the Christian workers is to keep Hebrew competition at arm's length. These regulations appear to be, and in many cases are, oppressive, but, as has been pointed out, the position of the Jews in regard to them does not differ intrinsically from that occupied by the Russian peasant, whose liberty as to his place of residence is also restricted.

In addition to these specific disabilities the Israelite is confronted by uncertainty both of the law and of its administration. The Russian code for the Jews fills several large volumes, and if these laws were enforced the Hebrews in the land would be prevented from earning a living. Of course, in practice the laws cannot be enforced, and those which are can frequently be evaded. Of many of them it may be said that they only provide the official class with an elaborate machinery for squeezing money out of the people to whom they apply. At the same time, the actual rigour of them depends entirely upon the personality and disposition of those charged with their administration. Thus the lenient governor or police officer of to-day may be replaced by an anti-Semite to-morrow, and Jews who were living comparatively free from molestation would find themselves suddenly harassed and obstructed at every turn.

This element of uncertainty is constantly complained of. The lives and occupations of the Jewish people generally are dependent on the interpretation which any official may choose to put upon the enactments, and upon the particular measure of zeal with which he enforces them. Again, no law is ever repealed in Russia, and new laws are constantly being made, so that there are numbers of lawyers whose whole business consists in giving opinions as to what a Jew may and may not do.

Moreover, law-making is so simple a matter that the position may be said to be changing from day to day. In this connection another point is interesting, namely, that there is no such thing as judge-made law in Russia. A decision arrived at on a particular point to-day has no effect whatever upon a decision to be arrived at on the same point to-morrow. Consequently each issue has to be tried and tested over and over again, and there is no finality with regard to the interpretation put upon the statutes.

I will here give an instance which will exemplify what I mean. A Jewish gentleman wished to take his wife to Moscow for her confinement. No Jew can even visit Moscow or Kiev without special permission. The

necessary passes were obtained, that of the lady being worded so as to give her permission to reside in the town "with her husband." Soon after their arrival he was called away to the death-bed of his mother. He had not left Moscow twenty-four hours before the police called upon the lady and asked her what right she, as a Jewess, had to be staying there. She showed her passport, but the police objected that by its wording she was merely allowed to be in Moscow "with her husband." Protests that he had only gone away for a few days were of no avail. The lady was told that, as her husband had left, she had no business to be in the town. She was turned out at twelve hours' notice, with the result that she had a miscarriage.

This case well illustrates the uncertainty of the conditions under which the Jews live, and shows how the interpretation and administration of the laws depend on the disposition of the individual administering them.

The laws obliging the Jewish people to live within so vast an area as the Pale would inflict no intolerable hardship if the whole of the territory were open to them. But this is not the case. Under the oppressive "May Laws" of 1882 only those who could prove right of

residence in the small towns and villages prior to that year were allowed to live in the country. All the remainder were driven into the towns. It was held that only those Jews could remain in the rural districts who had been "inscribed" as villagers, and that even they must not move from their place of domicile. Many were driven out under the former regulation, and under the latter even some who were temporarily absent in order to perform their military duty. This enactment is the *causa causans* of much of the misery and poverty to be found in the Ghettos of the Pale. Some idea of its results may be gained from the fact that within eighteen months after it was passed the Jewish population of the town of Tschernigov rose from 5000 to 20,000 souls, so that four people had to find a living where, before this, it was difficult enough for one to earn bread.

It is obvious that this confinement in the towns must lead to overcrowding, not only of the houses but of all employments; and here, again, the Russian law steps in to make the lot of the Jews as burdensome as possible. No sort of employment, paid directly or indirectly by the State, is open to them. They can obtain no work from the municipality of the town in which they reside. The Government

endeavours as far as possible to prevent them from obtaining any work over which it has control. Thus, if a concession for a tram line is granted, a specific provision is made that no Jew is to be employed either in its construction or working, and Jews are rigidly excluded from being porters on the railways or waiters at railway restaurants.

In the neighbourhood of the town of Pinsk, which I visited, there exists a large railway carriage factory, in which 5000 or 6000 hands are employed. Among the Jewish inhabitants of the place are many capable carpenters, wood-workers, and locksmiths, but it is expressly laid down that no Jew is to be given work in the railway yard, and labour has to be imported from all parts of Russia to do work which could be as well, probably a great deal better, done by the people of the locality. But then they are Jews.

The cumulative effect of all these restrictions is an overwhelming competition to obtain a living from the few employments which are left open. There is little work to be done and there are vast numbers of people to do it. The margin between life and starvation is so narrow that the least disturbance or crisis becomes a catastrophe and leads inevitably to increased

emigration. It is impossible to conceive what object the Russian Government has in deliberately creating so disastrous a state of things for a portion of its own subjects.

It is said that when the misery and suffering caused in this way were pointed out to Monsieur Pobiedonoszief, the Procureur General of the Holy Synod and tutor of Alexander III., and when he was asked what he supposed the ultimate effect of the May Laws would be, he replied that a third of the Jews would be converted, a third would die, and a third would emigrate. Doubtless, numbers have emigrated, and the death-rate has probably been unnecessarily high; but not even the hardships endured in the Russian Pale have compelled any considerable number to renounce the faith of their fathers.

This fact is greatly to the credit of the Jewish people, seeing that the ceremony of baptism opens for them every door and every career. But, even when converted under the pressure of extreme necessity, the Jew loses none of his racial characteristics. A story is told of a Hebrew whose business interests required that he should reside in the capital. Consequently he determined to be baptized. He was prepared for the rite, and at the end of his instruc-

tion in the tenets of the orthodox Church his preceptor asked him :

“What do you believe?”

“I believe,” he replied, “that now I shall not be driven out of St. Petersburg.”

“Ah, Jewish brain—Jewish brain,” said the tutor, and, beckoning the pupil to his side, he whispered, “I, too, am a Jew.”

It is not for a moment to be supposed that all the Hebrews in Russia are poor and persecuted. A very large number of them have prospered and are prospering. The professions of merchant and trader are open to them, and they have taken full advantage of the opportunities thus provided.

In Western Russia, whenever there is anything to be bought or sold, you will be certain to find the Jew as an intermediary. He is clever and indefatigable, but not perhaps overburdened with scruples. In this respect he would probably not differ from his Russian or foreign competitor. No doubt he drives hard bargains, as the Russian peasant has found to his cost, and this characteristic is invariably used against him. Personally, I do not attach much importance to it. I am not a business man myself, but I apprehend that the principle which governs most business transactions is to buy as

cheap and to sell as dear as you can ; and if the Jewish dealer purchases as cheaply as possible from the Russian peasant, I do not suppose that a trader of any other nationality would be inclined to give higher prices if he could avoid doing so. I am informed that Russian dealers and merchants are themselves not inspired by any exalted sense of commercial honour, and that success in business in Russia implies a complete knowledge of the "tricks of the trade." If the Jewish merchant proves himself, as he often does, more capable, it is merely as much as to say that he is the better man of the two. Be this as it may, the Jews take a very prominent place in Russian commercial life.

In Libau, for instance, the important export trade is almost entirely conducted by them, and here, as elsewhere, an elaborate and well-organized system exists for the purchase of produce in the country. It is this organization which gives rise to the charge so constantly preferred against the Jews that they are the exploiters of the peasantry ; on the other hand, were the Jews not there, the peasants would, in my opinion, either be equally exploited by the business capacity of some other nationality, or there would be no ready market for the produce of the country.

And this is the case, because in the interior of Russia, where no Jew is allowed to live, and where the foreign trader has not penetrated, business is comparatively stagnant, and the peasantry have no purchasers of their produce. It seems obvious that it is better for the peasants that they should sell below the market value than that they should not be able to sell at all ; and the contrast between towns in which Jews are allowed to live and localities where they are not permitted to dwell is most remarkable. In the former there is always an active movement of business. In the latter the place seems to be devoid of life.

My conclusions on this point are born out by a Report made to the Russian Imperial Geographical Society by M. I. S. Aksakow, as far back as 1853. He had been sent to make an exhaustive study of business conditions in the markets of the Ukraine. His account of the inquiry contains the following passage :

“ The Jews are forbidden to trade at the annual markets in Korennaja and in Charkov. As a matter of course, this prohibition cannot be stringently maintained. The regulation against the Jews is especially difficult to enforce because the Russian merchants themselves

connive at their trading, and give them an opportunity of selling their wares in the Russian booths behind separate counters under the pretext that these Jews are assistants of the booth-holders. In those markets where the Israelites have the right to buy and sell freely, they stimulate business to a singular and feverish activity.

“The Jewish method of trading has this further peculiarity—that every wholesale dealer has a round hundred of poor Jews attached to him, each of whom takes goods from the wholesale store and retails them among the people. The animation thus caused in the retail trade promotes the movement of hard cash, and it is for this reason that the annual fairs at which the Jews trade are regarded as ‘cash markets.’ The relations between them and the merchants of Great Russia also are good. The latter do not look upon them as too dangerous competitors. They say that in Jewish hands the rouble turns over five times while the Russian is turning it over twice. All this, however, does not hinder the merchants of Great Russia from settling in the towns of those governments in which the Jews may freely dwell and trade, nor from retaining a permanent predominance over the Jewish element in business.” There

is no reason to suppose that the relations between the races have undergone a change in this respect since M. Aksakow's report was written.

In Libau I was told that, were it not for the Jews, there would be no business stirring in the town. But while a large number of Hebrew people thus live in material comfort and prosperity, many of them making large fortunes and others a competence, the lot even of such people is far from pleasant under the Russian Government. There is a constant feeling of bitterness which arises from prejudicial treatment. To a man in a good position, respected in the town in which he lives, it is hard to have to ask permission to go for a few days to St. Petersburg or elsewhere, and to have that permission grudgingly granted, and it is galling to find himself and his children placed in a position of inferiority *vis-à-vis* of all his fellow subjects of a similar class.

One of the allegations made against the Jews is that they are unwilling to take their share of military service. But I was told by two prominent rabbis that, according to the statistics, a larger percentage of Jews, in proportion to their numbers, serve in the army than of Christians. I believe this statement can be fully substan-

tiated. But even if it be a fact that Russian Jews evade their military obligations, no one can be surprised that they should do so when the treatment they receive is taken into consideration. A Jew enlisted in Western Russia would have to serve with the colours in some part of the empire remote from his home. On the completion of his term of five years in the Caucasus or Siberia, he is not allowed to remain there a single day but is sent back to the Pale to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Soldiers who have served for several years in a district make friends there and would be able to earn a living if they were allowed to settle. But though as soldiers they are considered fit to reside in any part of the country, as Jews they are not. Moreover, no Hebrew has a prospect of a career or of promotion even to the non-commissioned ranks in the army. Under such circumstances it is not surprising if military service is unpopular among the Jewish people.

A rabbi quoted to me an instance which occurred in his own experience. A Jewish locksmith in Mithau, who was thriving, and as an artizan was entitled to live in that town, was called away to serve in the Turkish war. He was severely wounded and lost the use of his right arm. At the conclusion of the campaign

• he came back to Mithau, and, being no longer able to follow his former occupation, made a living as a rag merchant. The police, however, came down upon him as a Jew, no longer an artizan, and consequently without the right to live outside the Pale. A strong effort was made to obtain exemption from the law for this man in consideration of the services he had done for the country. But it was of no avail, and he was compelled to leave the place.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION

IT is an obvious inference that oppressive measures, and the bad conditions in which the Jews live as the result of them, in great measure account for the emigration movement. But another cause is at work, which is so important in relation to Jewish character and feeling that it is necessary to refer to it at some length. This is the question of education.

The intense desire of Jewish people to give their children a good education is well known, and it is hard to conceive the feelings of a Jewish parent when it is a matter of the utmost difficulty to get his son into an ordinary gymnasium or *Realschule*. I will mention the case of one gentleman whose acquaintance I made in Libau, the largest ratepayer in the town, and a man who had been personally selected by the governor to serve on the municipal council. When his son was ready to enter the gymnasium only one vacancy existed

and 100 Jewish children were candidates. After a searching examination five were selected, and my friend's son, though he came out at the top, was ignominiously refused admission to the school. This was the first intimation to the child that there was a difference between him and other children. Thus the seeds of bitterness and discontent are sown in the earliest stage of life. The following year the boy was, as a great favour, accepted in the *Realschule*. When this became known, the parents received the congratulations of all their friends as if some great and unexpected piece of good fortune had befallen them.

Of all the questions one hears discussed among the Jews in Russia, none arouses keener feeling than this of education. It has an important influence upon the Hebrew exodus. I came across several instances of Jewish working men who were earning a good living, and who admitted to me that they were in comfortable circumstances, but they expressed the determination to emigrate as soon as they found an opportunity. They said that, although they were comfortable enough and comparatively content, they could not bear to deprive their children of education, or to expose them to all the uncertainties and hardships which a

Russian Jew must face. Consequently, though the greater part of the emigrants come from that residuum of the population for whom there is literally nothing to do, and who do not know from day to day whether they can earn sufficient to keep them alive, still the emigrants are further recruited from the class to which I have referred, people whose life is centred in the future of their children, and who, for their sake, migrate to other countries in order that their descendants may be both educated and free.

But it must be remembered that it is impossible to generalize upon this question, and that the causes which lead to the emigration vary in the different countries, and even in different parts of the same country.

In the matter of education, the Jews make every possible endeavour to supply what the Government refuses to grant. In every town schools built and entirely supported by the Jewish community exist. At the foot of the ladder there are the Chedrim, small private schools kept by some old Jew learned in Hebrew and the Talmud. In some miserable den of a room or cellar you will find an old man surrounded by ragged, half-starved children. Their keen, dark eyes and anxious

faces are often full of intelligence; they are diligently learning to read and eager to exhibit their proficiency to the visitor.

Where possible, provision is made for the superior grades of instruction — secondary, technical, and higher. But though the Jewish community do what they can for the education of their children, they would do a great deal more if the Government were to give them any encouragement. If, however, it is wished to establish a new school, great difficulties are thrown in the way and permission cannot be obtained without a struggle. It is never granted except on the condition that the Government is to have control over what is taught and over the books that are used.

An ingenious stipulation often imposed is that, if a school is founded by the Jews, 60 per cent. of the children received must be Christian. In the towns of the Pale, where the Hebrew population frequently outnumbers the Christian, it is difficult to conform to this arrangement, which practically obliges Jewish parents to find two Christian children for each one of their own. People of means surmount the difficulty by inducing parents in the towns and villages to let their children go to the schools and by paying their expenses. But for the poorer

classes this is not possible, and the condition imposed is an effective bar to them.

Where the schools do exist, they are extremely efficient and well managed. The technical schools in St. Petersburg, in Vilna, in Pinsk, in Warsaw, in Lodz, which I visited, would, I believe, compare favourably with institutions of the kind in any part of Europe. Numerous handicrafts are taught, from the making of artificial flowers to the manufacture of a steam-engine. An especially pleasing picture of the Pauline Bauman School for boys and girls in Warsaw remains in my mind. The girls, under the kindly supervision of Madame Ettinger and other ladies, are taught artificial flower-making and fancy work of many kinds.

The flower room was a charming sight. To one who had seen their home surroundings it was difficult to believe that these pretty, happy, intelligent children, busily engaged on their beautiful work, could have left them that morning and would return to them at night.

I was told that few of these children could read or write, and the Government, while allowing technical instruction, expressly forbids any other form of education to be given.

These institutions are always well supplied with orders for furnishing and decorating houses

and manufacturing a great variety of articles for merchants and shopkeepers. They have an important bearing upon the question of emigration ; for, as I have already stated, skilled artisans can obtain the right to live in any part of Russia, and it is hoped that the boys who pass through these schools will settle in the land of their birth. Undoubtedly there is an unlimited field for competent craftsmen in every part of Russia, and M. de Witte, in the development of his industrial policy, has ready to hand, if he will only use it, a large and highly intelligent population, who are Russian subjects, and who, as workers in every branch of industry, are generally superior to the Christian population. It may be hoped that due consideration of the financial and economic interests of Russia and the demand for skilled labour, which must be always increasing there, will lead to development on these lines.

At present there is, I am afraid, a desire among the pupils of the technical colleges to take their skill and ability into other markets. The reason for this is no doubt partly the better wages that they can obtain abroad, but largely the inferior position which the Jews occupy in Russia.

Agricultural colleges have recently been

founded. There are considerable institutions of this kind at Minsk, at Pinsk, in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, and other places, where the boys are instructed in the cultivation and management of land. Negotiations are in progress with the Russian Government which have for their object the extension to these agricultural scholars of the same privilege enjoyed by skilled artizans, namely, the right to live outside the Pale. It has not, I believe, yet been granted, but, if it should be, another outlet would be provided for the Jewish population.

In Western Europe it is commonly supposed that the Jewish people are incapable of hard manual labour. It is undoubtedly true that the policy of crowding them together in ghettos and in towns has for centuries accustomed them to sedentary pursuits, and also that it is characteristic of the race to look down upon manual work. A Jew will always try to be a merchant, middleman, or trader—his ambition is to be employer rather than employed—but the necessities of the case have largely modified this trait. In the towns of the Pale one finds every kind of manual labour conducted by the Jews. In Vilna, Kovno, Grodno, Pinsk and other places which I visited there are, practically,

no Christian labourers. Even those occupations for which, according to Western ideas, the Jew is unfitted, such as builder's, blacksmith's, and locksmith's work, the paving of the streets, &c., are one and all performed by Jews. But here again the forced crowding together in the towns renders the competition among them terribly severe.

We have seen that the Jewish communities bestow great care upon the education of the children. As a result of this a considerable amount of intelligent Jewish labour is available in Russia, and will increase in quantity. In certain directions efforts have been and are being made to utilize it in manufactories.

The town of Pinsk has been turned into an industrial centre in this way. It has eighteen factories, large and small, employing some 4000 hands, men, women, and children, all Jews. Timber is the staple of the chief industries. In Mr. Halpern's match-factory one may see a huge log heaved in at one end to emerge, half matches, and half the boxes with contain them, at the other. From first to last only Jewish hands touch it. The beneficent effect of this industrial development upon the people can be easily understood, but even here the Government steps in to discourage such enterprises.

The factory laws in Russia are extremely strict, and the inspectors seem to make use of them to harass the Jewish employer as much as possible. An instance occurred while I was in the town. In one of the factories a girl had been fined ten copecks—about two pence—for some irregularity. The inspector heard of this, called up the manager, and in the presence of all the work-people severely reprimanded him and fined him a rouble. Under these circumstances it is, of course, difficult to maintain discipline.

Even in a town like Pinsk, which in its industrial development is quite exceptional, a large residuum of unemployed remains. I have already referred to the Government carriage factory, in which the employment of Jews is prohibited.

Throughout my travels in Russia I was unable to discover any ill-feeling between the Christian peasantry and the Jewish population—competent Jewish and Gentile authorities confirm the view that there is none—and I am of opinion, as I have said, that the Jews supply an element which, on the whole, is a benefit to the peasantry. In Russia it is largely through the Jew as middleman that the cultivator finds a market. The opportunity thus provided

encourages him to produce more than he otherwise would.

I believe it is a fact that famine and scarcity, so prevalent in many parts of the country, are practically unknown within the limits of the Jewish Pale, although its soil is of poorer quality.

Until quite recently the manufacture and sale of spirits was entirely in the hands of the Jews, and it was alleged that they poisoned the peasantry with bad liquor and encouraged them to excessive drinking. This may have been so, but the Government has now constituted the liquor trade a State monopoly, and the evil complained of has been removed. The effect, however, has been that some 500,000 Jewish people have been thrown out of employment.

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to give a general view of the status, and the social, commercial, and educational disabilities of the Russian Jews. I make no endeavour to reach a conclusion, in this place, as to the relative force of the causes which impel them to emigrate. Some authorities on the spot believe that the motive is chiefly economic, and cite the fact that bad crops increase the volume of Jewish emigration. Others attribute the movement in great part to the educational and social



A STREET IN PINSK



ANCIENT CHURCH, PINSK



JEWISH WORKMEN LOG ROLLING
MR. HALPERN'S MATCH FACTORY, PINSK



JEWISH WORKERS IN MR. HALPERN'S MATCH FACTORY, PINSK

disadvantages which I have described. I propose to narrate what I saw in the towns and districts which I visited, and thereby, as far as I can, to place the reader in a position to form his own judgment.

CHAPTER VI

FROM ST. PETERSBURG TO THE PALE

THE Jewish community in St. Petersburg, numbering some 15,000 persons, presents no special features. They are for the most part rich or well-to-do. There are, of course, poor people among them, but the poverty is in no way abnormal, and is not comparable to that which is seen among the Christian population. I visited the poor in their homes, both Christian and Jew, and the condition of the latter was certainly the better.

The male Christian working-class population in St. Petersburg is chiefly drawn from the outside districts, under the system known as *artels*. A contractor, when he has work to be done, goes into a district and enlists the men he requires. He is responsible to them for wages, food, and house accommodation. The latter is most primitive, and the people are herded together in very bad conditions.

The men are separated from their families,

though they are sometimes able to return home for the harvest. Many, however, remain in the towns for several years at a time, and this results in great laxity with regard to matrimonial fidelity. I spoke to one man who came from the south of Russia, and who had been away more than three years. I asked him how many children he had. He replied that, when he left, he had two. "But," he added quite simply, "God knows how many I have now." The moral and physical conditions of the Jewish population are superior. The men are nearly all married and live with their families.

In St. Petersburg, as elsewhere, the poor Jews are well cared for by their own community.

The principal synagogue and Jewish school form a large and handsome block of buildings. Here 429 boys and girls, mostly children of poor parents, receive, free of all charge, an excellent education—elementary, middle, and technical. The class-rooms are lofty, well-lighted, and scrupulously clean, and the whole establishment is kept in perfect order. The work-rooms for the elder girls presented a charming sight, and I have nowhere seen a healthier and happier lot of children. All the pupils are given a first-rate mid-day meal, and

tea or milk at other times. The artistic and mechanical work done in the technical branch is admirable, and there is a steady output of capable workmen who have full rights to live in any part of Russia.

I do not propose to deal with the condition of the Jews in St. Petersburg at greater length. The impression left upon my mind was that they had little to complain of, and that their circumstances compare favourably with those of the Jewish community in any other town in the world.

I next visited Dvinsk in the province of Minsk, within the Jewish Pale. The station, like most Russian railway stations, is spacious, and contains an excellent restaurant and other accommodation. As soon as one leaves it one steps into another world. I arrived on a sombre, rainy day. Three or four droschkies, in the last stages of dilapidation, driven by Jewish drivers clad in filthy rags, stood outside the station. The horses were mere bags of bones and they seemed to share the prevailing misery.

The station is two miles from the town, and the drive to Dvinsk gave me a first idea of what Russian country roads are—heart-breaking cobbles varied by patches of

unfathomable black mud. On either side were mournful wooden houses and shanties, mouldy and crumbling; apparently they were only inhabited by a few dejected women, children, and pigs. The inn, kept by a Jew, seemed fairly clean, but one encountered an ominous oily smell, the smell of the slums of Bombay and Calcutta, which Anglo-Indians will remember. The sanitary arrangements are better imagined than described.

It was Saturday, and evidence of the preponderance of the Jewish population at once presented itself. Not a single shop was open except an occasional tobacconist's. The Jewish Sabbath puts the whole trade of the place to sleep. The atmosphere was that of a very quiet country town in England on Sunday.

On that day no shop may be opened till 1 P.M., and thus the Russian Government, while allowing the Jews full enjoyment of their Sabbath, takes care that Sunday is respected, at all events during the hours of morning worship. Large crowds of respectably dressed Jews were promenading in front of the synagogue—a sort of church parade. A police officer with whom I had some conversation told me that the Jewish people had the upper hand here, and that the entire trade of the place was

in their possession. A new chief of the police had recently come to the town. He had tried to introduce reforms, such as the closing of disorderly houses, gambling hells, &c., but he found it an impossible task and soon abandoned it. The police force is only some 200 for the 80,000 inhabitants, fully three-fourths of whom are of the Hebrew race. The disorderly houses and gambling dens are kept by Jews.

A year or two ago, when the Government created the monopoly in the sale of spirits and the vodki houses had to be closed, the Jewish people made a great disturbance. At that time every other house was a drinking den. This the Government monopoly has stopped, though it is thought that a considerable illicit still business is carried on. Great complaint is made about the number of Jews thrown out of employment by the State monopoly, and doubtless with reason.

The town is bounded on the west by the River Duna. There is a handsome boulevard and an avenue of trees on the bank of this fine stream. It was in full flood when I was there. Fragments of houses and some cattle were being carried down. I got into conversation with a grey-bearded Jew, who was standing by the water, and I expressed regret at the damage

which was done. He said the result would be good, things would be better in the future, and the sins of the world would be washed away.

I did not understand, but he explained that the world had been abnormally wicked of late. He referred to the wars in China and South Africa, and considered that the swollen river was a sign of divine wrath—a sort of providential flushing of mundane drains choked with iniquity.

The public garden is a great feature of Russian towns. Generally, there is an open-air theatre in the summer, a band, and other amusements. On Saturday evening the garden at Dvinsk was full. The people were, almost without exception, Jews. They were a well-dressed and apparently well-to-do community. The place does not give the impression that it contains 80,000 inhabitants. It is, for its size, the most backward town I have ever seen. There are no tram-lines, and very few public conveyances, and those of a miserable kind. The streets are lighted by wretched oil lamps. There are no public buildings of any size; the two synagogues and churches are the only structures of note. Many of the dwellings are crumbling and squalid, but one could not say

that the housing conditions were abnormally bad. They are certainly superior to those which prevail in several parts of London. I noticed that all the labourers, costers, and carriers appeared to be Jews.

There is a considerable emigration from Dvinsk. Between fifty and sixty Jewish people had left the place the week before I was there. These, for the most part, travel by way of Libau, and have to provide themselves with passports. I spoke to several who intended to go to England, and they told me that their motive was the hope of doing better business there.

On Sunday I found that the law closing shops till one o'clock was partially disregarded. A considerable number were open before that hour, but the business of the town was not in full swing till later. The markets then became very busy. The town was crowded with soldiers in white jackets and caps, chaffering and bargaining with the Jews. A peculiar feature was that the soldiers were, for the most part, sellers and the Jews buyers. Old boots, uniforms, strips of cloth embroidered with Russian needlework, and many other odds and ends were the goods which the men offered. Each group of soldiers was surrounded by a circle of typical Jews with long grey beards,



PETTICOAT LANE, ST. PETERSBURG



THE SYNAGOGUE, DVINSK



THE MARKET, DVINSK

beak-like noses, and coats reaching to the ground.

There are many disorderly houses around the market. I saw the soldiers being dragged and decoyed into these places. In a town of this kind, with a large Jewish population, and without manufactories, there are, of course, a great number of people who have no regular means of subsistence and who are best described by the German word *Luftmenschen* (wastrels, drifters).

These, no doubt, are often driven by circumstances into undesirable courses and occupations. The immorality which prevails in towns like Dvinsk may, I think, in large part be accounted for in this way. People are born and have to live. As the struggle for life becomes keener scruples disappear. Be that as it may, it is unquestionable that sexual immorality is prevalent in these overcrowded towns in the Pale, and the procuring of very young girls is quite a common incident. It is from the lower strata that a considerable proportion of the emigrants come, and of course such tendencies reappear among them in London.*

I had the good fortune to secure in St.

* See Appendix.

Petersburg the services of Mr. Francklin, an English guide and interpreter. Without his aid it would have been impossible for me to carry out my purpose. I have a smattering of several languages, but Russian is not one of them, and I found it an odd sensation to be travelling in a country where I could neither understand nor make myself understood—and where I could not even read the names of the railway stations. I went out alone one night while I was at St. Petersburg, lost my way, and wandered about for some hours without being able to make any one to whom I spoke comprehend a word I said. At last I came across a little boy—he wore uniform like every one else in Russia—who was able to read the name of my hotel in the guide-book, and to direct a droski driver where to take me. I narrate this incident as a caution to others who may be tempted to explore Russian suburbs.

Mr. Francklin, with nineteen years' experience of Russia and a perfect command of the language, saved me untold trouble and very great expense, and I am glad to have an opportunity of mentioning his name in this connection.

Everything, from a packet of cigarettes to a cab fare, seemed to be the subject of a

bargain. The latter was, so to speak, put up to Dutch auction at the cab-stand and went to the lowest bidder.

At Dvinsk the discussion with the inn-keeper about the price of the rooms was very animated. Finally I obtained his best apartment for $2\frac{1}{2}$ roubles per day. It was a fair-sized room, without a carpet, and contained early Victorian furniture in red Utrecht velvet, two wooden beds, and a very diminutive basin. However, it was clean beyond my expectation, and—*mirabile dictu*—I secured undisturbed rest without the aid of insect powder.

Beyond the Russian tea, served in glasses and always excellent, we made no test of the cooking, but depended for our meals on the restaurant at the station.

I left Dvinsk without regret, and turned my steps northward to Riga. The journey takes one through the province of Kurland, a rich, well-cultivated country. The inhabitants are for the most part Letts. They are Lutheran Protestants and excellent agriculturists, speaking their own language, Lettish. It was refreshing to shake off the squalor of the Jewish town and to breathe again the fresh air of this beautiful land. The exclusively Jewish population of

the city gave place to healthy and robust peasant folk, but groups of Jews were to be met with at most of the railway stations, and from the line they could be seen wandering about in twos and threes through the country, where they go to buy up horses, agricultural produce, timber, &c., either for themselves or acting as agents for firms in Riga.

Riga is a handsome town of 300,000 inhabitants. It is essentially German in character rather than Russian. Electric trams run in every direction. There are numerous beautiful pleasure-gardens, brilliantly lighted, and many fine public buildings, both ancient and modern. Among the former *La Maison des Têtes Noires* is the most striking. It dates from 1330, but has often been restored. The town is splendidly situated on both banks of the Duna, where it empties itself into the Gulf. On the railway lines near the harbour it was interesting to see the white goods trucks labelled with such names as Omsk and Irkutsk. Some of them were laden with agricultural machines, and I was glad to observe that English firms were well represented.

With regard to the Jewish population of Riga, of whom the Census of 1897 showed there were 27,000, the conditions are very

much the same as those I have described in dealing with St. Petersburg. The town is outside the limits of the Pale, as are the three Baltic provinces, Kurland, Livonia, and Esthonia, and only Jews of certain categories are allowed to reside there, namely :

(a) So-called Riga Hebrews, or the descendants of old residents. There are about 7000 of these.

(b) Those who obtained the right of residence by a law which was passed in 1893. They had to prove that they had settled in Riga before 1880. These number about 8000.

(c) Those who, according to the general laws of the empire, have the right of residence, *i.e.*, artizans, the old Nicolai soldiers and their descendants, merchants of the first guild, students in the high schools — about 12,000.

In certain streets of the town no Israelite is allowed to reside. No Jew from outside can obtain citizenship in Riga; and those visiting the place on business are only permitted to remain in the city from sunrise to sunset, but special permission can be obtained for a short extension of the time. These laws are strictly enforced.

The Jewish community in Riga has two

schools for boys and one for girls, in which some 800 children are taught, and there are a few afternoon and evening classes. These are exclusively provided for the poorer members of the community. The number of Jewish children receiving education in the Christian schools is said to be about 1000, or 7 per cent. of the total. The consequence is that a large number of Jewish children receive very little instruction and are put to work at an early age. It is no uncommon thing to see lads of twelve to fourteen working as journeymen painters, tin-workers, shoemakers, &c. ; but it is said that nearly every Jewish child knows how to draw a bill of exchange or promissory note, the forms of these and other similar documents being given as writing lessons in place of the usual texts.

Of the 309 doctors in Riga seventy-three are Jews. Among lawyers there are about 7 per cent. to 10 per cent., but recent legislation has stopped this outlet for Jewish energy and ability as no Jewish lawyer is now allowed to practise in the courts. Of the 353 first guild merchants in Riga seventy-six are Jews. Of the 1155 second guild merchants 366 are Jews. But larger percentages are to be found among the third and fourth classes of traders. In recent

years the Jews have pushed themselves more and more to the front in the commercial life of the city.

The trade in the agricultural produce of the country is largely in their hands. Some of the principal grain merchants and exporters are Christians, but the middlemen and agents are almost exclusively Jews. They have an elaborate organization throughout the empire, and they know within a trifle how the produce of the country stands, whether it be timber, grain, flax, cattle, horses, eggs, or anything else.

The means they adopt for transmitting information are typical. One, recently discovered, was the marking of hieroglyphics in chalk on some part of an out-going train. This cypher gave the market price or other tip to a friend or agent stationed at a distance. He had merely to walk on to the platform when the train came in to get all the information he required. It was safer than a letter, better and, as a rule, quicker than a telegram, and it had the additional merit of costing nothing.

In the neighbourhood of Riga a large timber trade is carried on. The law of Russia prevents a Jew from acquiring land, and is strictly enforced. But the wood on the land can be bought apart from the soil itself, and Jewish

merchants purchase largely in this way. I am not at all sure that the regulation limiting the number of Jews in towns like Riga is entirely disadvantageous to those who are allowed to reside there. It seems natural to infer that the competition between them is less severe, that the businesses remain in fewer hands, and that fewer demands are made upon the Jewish community for charitable relief.

In the time of Alexander II. the rules respecting the area in which Jews were permitted to live were not strictly enforced, and large numbers settled outside the boundaries of the Pale. Riga was one of the places so affected, and in the year 1880 a Ministerial Circular sanctioned what had taken place. But in 1882 the May Laws were promulgated, and the expulsion of the Jews began. Great distress resulted, and in 1893, to save many from absolute ruin, a law was passed to the effect that those who up to the year 1880 had resided, even illegally, in any part of the three Baltic provinces might remain there. In other parts of Russia, however, special permission of the Minister of the Interior, on the recommendation of the local governor, was required in each individual case.

There seems to be a very small amount of

emigration from the Port of Riga itself. The emigration from the northern provinces of the Pale proceeds *viâ* Libau, whither I went in order to study the conditions on the spot.

CHAPTER VII

EMIGRATION FROM LIBAU

LIBAU is a flourishing commercial port, competing strongly with Riga, as it is not ice-bound in the winter. A very large Government dock-yard and harbour for ships of war has been in process of construction here during the past ten years. Some 40,000,000 roubles have already been spent on these works, which will add greatly to the importance of the town. It has a population of 80,000 inhabitants, about 15,000 of whom are Jews. It is a picturesque place, the houses being for the most part one and two storeyed villas and bungalows. The commercial harbour is convenient, and is being much improved. A very large export trade is carried on from here in the produce of the country—grain, wood, eggs, &c., and this is entirely in the hands of Jewish merchants.

The stream of emigration from Libau is constant and large. The organization of the traffic is in the hands of two firms of agents, of

whom Messrs. Knie and Falk are the principal. Their business is widely advertized, and they have correspondents in various towns, through whom intending emigrants obtain tickets and information, and they have an agency in London. Mr. Knie represents the line of steamers running to the Humber and the Thames and the Union Castle line to Africa. The ships which ply between Libau and England belong to a company at Copenhagen and sail under the Danish flag. This company contracts to supply Messrs. Knie with the number of vessels they require for the trade. The boats formerly ran to Iceland and certainly were not constructed to carry numbers of passengers.

The emigrants arrive in Libau a day or two before the steamers leave, and are billeted in various lodgings in the town. They then attend at the shipping office, and their papers are thoroughly examined and put in order. The great majority of them book to London, though Mr. Knie assured me that very few remain in England. Those to whom I spoke seemed to be very chary of divulging their destination, and it was only after a great deal of persuasion that they consented to say where they really intended to go. There is a reason for this reticence, which is in the nature of a

trade secret. It is mentioned in the Report of the Royal Commission.

The total number of passengers from Libau to England in 1902, who were not described as being *en route* to places outside the United Kingdom, was 6737, and though Mr. Knie was convinced that a very small percentage of them would settle in this country, it is not possible to determine how many do in fact proceed elsewhere. Mr. Knie has to enter them in the manifest which he prepares as bound for London, even when he is aware that America is their final destination. A copy of this list is sent ahead by post to the Customs officer at Greenwich, who checks it on the arrival of the boat.

The voyage to London, *viâ* the Kiel canal, occupies about four days. The ships always carry a large number of ponies, and every corner not occupied by human beings, or by the miscellaneous cargo of eggs and other produce, serves as space for these. I saw the S.S. *Kursk* take her cargo and passengers on board, and was present when she sailed. She carried 180 emigrants and 120 ponies. On the day of embarkation the ship is closely guarded by the police, and the approaches to the gangway are railed off. The emigrants are collected

inside the enclosure. Four policemen under the command of an officer are stationed beside the gangway, and as each passenger approaches his or her papers are closely scrutinized and verified. No one is admitted on board under any pretence whatever until this has been done; and I was only allowed to pass up the gangway by special permission of the officer in charge, after I had shown him my letter from the Minister of the Interior.

The whole proceeding was conducted in a quiet and orderly manner. There was none of the noise and confusion which an Englishman naturally associates with the departure of an emigrant ship. The passengers came from a distance and the farewells had almost all been said at home. Only a few people were present to see the party off, and I witnessed no painful leave-takings.

Beyond some signs of nervousness as they approached the police officers, I observed no evidence of emotion among the emigrants; they seemed listless and indifferent. One or two complained loudly of the accommodation on board, and I was roundly abused by a lady who mistook me for the agent or the shipowner, and declared that she had been swindled and was being lodged like a cow in a shed.

The condition in which emigrants travelling on these ships reached London recently excited attention, and a report, drawn up by Dr. Williams, Health Officer of the Port of London, disclosed a disgraceful state of things. A protest was made to the Russian Government, but the vessels were in Danish ownership, and this proved an obstacle to Russian intervention. Mr. Knie, however, took the matter in hand, and considerable improvements have been made. He assured me that the Board of Trade requirements as to cubic space, sanitary conveniences, &c., had been fully complied with, and expressed his willingness to carry out any further recommendation which might be made.

I am no judge of emigrant ships and have had no experience of the emigrant traffic. If the requirements have been met there is nothing more to be said, but I confess that I was painfully surprised when I saw the accommodation provided.

The hold in which the emigrants were to travel was pitch dark and devoid of any ventilation that I could discover except such as was provided by the hatchway. The head room between decks was about 7 feet, and this space was divided by two long bunks or shelves. Upon these straw mattresses were thrown and

the people lay alongside one another like sardines in a tin. For their meals they had to shift as best they could—in fine weather on deck, in rough weather below in their bunks.

I asked the captain how he managed about ventilation in bad weather, when the hatches had to be closed. At first he said there never was any bad weather and that he never had to close the hatches; but a little further pressure elicited the fact that it was customary to turn the vessel's head to the wind and wait till the sea moderated. "If I were to shut my hatches," said the captain, "the ponies would die."

"And the people?" I ventured to suggest.

"Yes," he said, "and the people."

But this was evidently an afterthought.

The batch of emigrants whom I saw at Libau were, on the whole, decent and respectable looking. There were some very old men among them and a good many children and babies in arms. Most of them were evidently poor, though a few travelled in the first-class saloon.

The price of a third-class ticket to London is £2 7s. 6d., including food. There are fortnightly departures to Hull and weekly sailings for the Thames.

A letter lies before me, dated from Libau and written by an English correspondent, which

well illustrates the character of a part of this emigration, and shows how the helpless element in the population of the East End is augmented. "A young woman with six small children," the writer says, "had come to Libau to sail from here to London. By a strange vicissitude the house where they were lodging took fire, and though able to save her children her whole possessions, £5 in rouble notes under her pillow, were burned. My wife soon produced a piece of gold, and the next day I called to see the poor woman, and was alarmed to find that she was taking her six children to England."

Her passport would cost her £2 or more, and it is easy to guess the amount of capital which these seven persons would possess when they landed on our shores. The young woman said that she was going to London to join her husband. I hope I shall not seem uncharitable if I express a doubt on the subject. In all probability that was her wish ; but wife desertion is of very frequent occurrence among Jews of the lower classes, and it is difficult to avoid suspicion that this was one of those unhappy women seeking a husband unwilling to be found, whose cases are constantly before the administrators of Hebrew charities in all countries.



PONIES FOR ENGLAND, LIBAU



JEWISH GRAIN EXPORTERS, LIBAU



THE SANDS, LIBAU



THE MARKET, LIBAU

The conditions of the Jewish community in Libau are very similar to those already described at St. Petersburg and Riga. There is a good deal of poverty among them, but the houses of the poor appeared excellent to one accustomed to the horrors of the East End. There is plenty of space and air, and rents are low.

A fine stretch of smooth sand on the shores of the Baltic extends for miles away from the town; there are charming gardens, a spacious Kurhaus and bathing establishment have been erected, and the place is increasing in popularity as a summer resort.

The Jewish community, though prosperous as a whole, are subjected to many disabilities and indignities. Among them I may instance the fact that people of the Jewish faith are prohibited from bathing in the sea. This regulation is not, I believe, strictly enforced. At the same time, a Jew taking a sea bath is liable to interference by the police.

From Libau I proceeded to Vilna, the ancient capital of Lithuania, and now the seat of the government of the province. The town is beautifully situated upon the banks of the Vilia. It has a population of some 200,000 inhabitants, of whom many are Roman Catholic Poles, and over 50 per cent. Jews.

The greater part of the town consists of narrow, dirty, and ill-paved streets, but it possesses many fine buildings, the palaces of Polish families, and a large number of churches, many of them of great historic interest. It formed the centre of Napoleon's line of advance upon Moscow, and was formally occupied on June 26, 1812. The town is dominated by a hill and a fortress, which stands in its centre, and from there a magnificent view of the city and its environs is obtained. Looking down from this point upon the river flowing between well-wooded banks, the red roofs of the houses and palaces, and numbers of church steeples and gilded cupolas glittering in the sun, it is difficult to realize the horrors and misery which the town contains.

There are few better places than Vilna in which to study a Jewish ghetto in all its original picturesque squalor. In many parts the streets are so narrow that only one vehicle can pass at a time. They are crowded with foot passengers, and the shops and stores on either side form a truly oriental bazaar. At intervals there are arched gateways leading into courtyards. Round these the miserable dens and cellars in which the people live are clustered, and it is here that the housing conditions of the Jewish poor may

be seen. I spent a whole day in visiting these places. A rough picture of a key or a boot painted on the wall here and there shows some attempt at trade, but a great part of the people seem to have no regular occupation. At one corner of the court stands a wooden tank or trough into which the refuse of the surrounding houses is thrown. The stench from these receptacles infects the whole air. The walls of the houses are blistered and rotting as if poisoned by the pestilent atmosphere within. I found two or three families inhabiting one miserable room or cellar costing 45 roubles a year—less than 2s. a week. They were mixed up together regardless of age and sex and health. In one room I found a lunatic as a lodger among a family of young children.

During my walks through the ghetto I was surrounded by a crowd of gaunt, curious, anxious faces—sad, careworn, hungry-looking people. Many openly begged alms. Some had trifles for sale. Some seemed to spend most of their time in the synagogues reading and rocking themselves into oblivion of their troubles. I met several who had been to England and had been sent back by the Jewish Board of Guardians, I suppose, as unfit for anything. One or two of them expressed a desire

to return and make another trial of Whitechapel, and they asked me for financial assistance to carry out this object. I was, perhaps, hardly the most suitable person to apply to.

In Vilna one felt oneself to be in the centre of the great Jewish drama. What I saw left a very painful impression upon my mind, the more so as, with all possible sympathy for these hapless people in the circumstances in which they have to live, one cannot see the advantage of transferring them and these conditions to the East End of London. On the whole, I saw little in Vilna more horrible than I have seen in Whitechapel and St. George's-in-the-East.

There is a large emigration from Vilna, and the game of battledore and shuttlecock between this place and England seems to be in full swing, the helpless and useless poor of the ghetto being the shuttlecock. This point cannot be too strongly emphasized, that in the main the emigration to England, at all events, comes from the lowest stratum of Jewish society in the congested towns.

We are sitting inactive while the horrors of these oriental slums are being steadily reproduced in the capital of the Empire. Who gains by the transference of these miseries from Vilna to London? "The people thus trans-

planted do well here," say some ; " they prosper and grow rich." Do they? How many of them ever emerge from semi-slavery and the gutter? How many of those who have struggled out are dragged back by the hands of their starving brethren, clutching at every penny and fighting for every crust? Many who know the truth dare not speak. Ask the shoemakers and the tailors who take out work from the big firms. Let them say what they could earn a few years ago and what they earn now. Let them bear witness to the hours of labour, the wages, food, and dwelling-places of their workmen. Or go and see the miserable half-starved, rag-covered crowd outside the office of the Jewish Board of Guardians on " relief day," or those who stand, hoping to be hired, in Goulston Street.

One need not visit Russia to see the horrors of the ghetto. They are here in our midst—daily increasing—the just reward of an inert public, the inevitable result of the apathy of those in authority, who have promised but never performed.

There is, of course, a brighter side to the life of the Jewish community in Vilna. Every effort is made to relieve the necessitous. There is a society for giving cheap dinners to the

poor, savings banks for small traders, a loan association, a society for providing poor Jews with the means of learning handicrafts, an excellent technical school, a guild for helping indigent sick, Jewish almshouses, orphan asylums, girls' schools, &c.

But, as in other great towns in all parts of the world, these efforts do not seem to go far in improving the state of affairs. Matters have been complicated in the last three or four years by a crisis in the building trade, in which for some time previous great activity had prevailed. There had been immense speculation, and houses were run up in all directions, the banks advancing money for the purpose. This activity provided a large amount of employment for the Jewish population. A year or two ago the inevitable crash came, and some 11,000 people were thrown out of work. The position then became so serious that the governor of the province had to organize measures of relief to prevent people dying of starvation in the streets.

During the period of activity a new element appeared in the Jewish question. In 1892, when the building boom set in, large numbers of Jewish workmen joined the Social Democratic Bond, whose propaganda began to spread about that

time. A strike was organized and took place. From an economic movement it soon became political, and very serious harm was done. The police seem to have been cognisant of what was going on, but, in order to gain more kudos, they allowed the movement to reach formidable dimensions before taking action. The doctrine of the Social Democrats tended also to undermine the religious belief of the Jews, and, while depriving many of their faith, substituted in their minds a sentiment of unrest and discontent. It is not at all surprising that such seed should germinate and bear fruit in a soil like that of Russia; and although it is not to be wondered at that the Jewish working men joined such an organization, the fact that they did so, and were concerned in a semi-political movement of this kind, will be used against them.

Such incidents as these diminish the hope of a modification of the May Laws and the other disabilities which press so heavily upon the Jews. Among the official classes those who are opposed to any mitigation of the existing law are able to point to the dangers which would result from allowing the Jews greater liberties. It is said that the Jewish working men are beginning to see that when they join such

organizations they are only instruments in the hands of foreign political demagogues. They have even started a counter-movement in order to draw their fellow workers away from the influence of the Social Democrats, and to restore their credit in the eyes of the Government and of society.

From Vilna I paid a visit to Kovno, one of the towns in which a large and characteristic Jewish population is to be seen. It is a beautifully situated, straggling town at the confluence of the rivers Niemen and Vilia. It has a population of 75,000, half of whom are Jews.

At certain seasons of the year a large timber industry is carried on. Rafts are floated down the river from up country, and have to be reconstructed and strengthened when they reach the town. This work is carried on entirely by Jewish labour. It is of an arduous kind, needing muscular strength and endurance, and it involves great exposure. The labour is fairly paid, and the people engaged upon it during four or five months live for the rest of the year on the wages they receive.

The following brief description of a class of the Jewish labourers in Kovno may be of interest, as it shows the capability of the race to undertake toil of the roughest kind.



A JEWISH FAMILY, PINSK



THE RIVERSIDE, PINSK

The account was written by M. Andrej Subbotin, editor of the Russian *Economic Journal*, and appeared in 1887: "Many Jews do hard work—for example, those who drag carts to and from the landing-stage on the Niemen. They look like veritable beasts of burden. These Jewish cart-haulers use little two-wheeled carts, on which they carry loads to and from the river. Such a cart is often loaded up to 15 or 20 cwt.

"This weight, which is usually reckoned enough for the poorer kind of horses, is dragged by a thin Jew with a sunken breast, narrow shoulders, and eyes inflamed by wind and dust. One who had not seen it would never believe that the Jews could move such loads. And hundreds of them work thus, and seldom earn more than 40 to 50 copecks (about 1s.) a day. Besides these, many Jews are employed in loading and unloading vessels and trucks; their earnings, too, are small." At Kovno there is a brewery, owned by a Jewish proprietor, in which a number of Jewish as well as Christian hands are employed.

A part of the Hebrew population lives in the suburb of Slobodka, which consists entirely of wood cottages standing on canals of mud, miscalled roads. There are said to be 10,000 inhabitants in this quarter, nearly all of them

Jews. It reminded me strongly of a poor Scotch village. The people, whose occupation is mostly outdoor, looked more healthy and robust than those in the ghettos of the towns. The interior arrangements of the houses were similar to those of a Scotch croft. Some of the floors were without boards and plastered with mud. Many of the cottages were clean and neat, with muslin curtains and some innocent attempts at decoration. Photographs of relatives who had emigrated to America or England were frequently shown to me, and I spoke with one woman whose son was in London. She and her daughter wished to join him, but she showed me a letter in which her son told her that she had far better stay where she was, as things in Whitechapel were worse than in his native village.

I do not think the conditions here were more unsatisfactory than those to be found in the Highlands of Scotland, and certainly not so bad as in the congested districts of Ireland. The Rabbit told me that owing to a crisis in the timber trade, which had thrown a number of people out of their normal employment, the poverty this year was exceptionally great. It is generally some such incident which leads to increased emigration. The population is so poor and the labour

market so overcrowded and sensitive that influences of this kind are felt out of all proportion to their real importance.

From Vilna I proceeded to Pinsk, in the Government of Minsk, in the very heart of the Jewish Pale; 92.5 per cent. of the inhabitants are Jews. The houses are all of wood except in one part of the town, which was recently burned down. Here brick and stone have been substituted. It is a picturesque place, and most of the streets are wide. Some attempt has been made at paving, but the bulk of the roads are without any sign of metalling. They are morasses of mud in winter and deserts of dust in summer. The chief feature of the town is a large Roman Catholic church and seminary built for the education of priests, now no longer used for that purpose. The conditions of the people generally were much the same as in Slobodka; the houses were very poor and humble, but, compared to the slums and ghettos of the great towns, healthy and even comfortable.

There is a steamer service from Pinsk down the River Pripet, to the point where it joins the Dnieper, and thence to Kiev. The country is low-lying, and the numerous streams flowing through it turn great parts of it in the winter

into a lake. The enterprising Jewish merchants have established steamer services in all directions; the boats are largely used and much appreciated by the people, and add greatly to the prosperity of the place. On market days the streams that lead to the town present a busy scene, the peasantry in their primitive dug-out boats and canoes bringing in produce of every kind. The river life and the appearance of the country generally reminded me forcibly of parts of Lower Burmah. Many of the boats were identical in appearance with those used by the Burmese, and the means of propulsion by paddle or punting were the same.

I did not discover that there was much emigration from Pinsk. The people who do go would be of the poorest class or those whose character makes it undesirable for them to stop. Two cases were quoted to me in which certain individuals, who had given a great deal of trouble, were advised and assisted to go to England. They are in London at the present moment. I was also told in one factory that any of the hands desirous of emigrating were given a premium of ten roubles. By this means it was hoped to relieve the pressure for employment and transfer it to England or America.

In the neighbourhood of Pinsk I came upon an instance of the way in which the intolerance of the Russian Government impedes the development of the country. A man, who owned property in a beautiful situation in the neighbourhood, thought he would develop his estate by building villas as summer residences. He did so, and the houses were eagerly taken up by well-to-do Jewish people anxious for a change of air in the hot weather. But the views of the authorities had not been ascertained, and as the villas had been built outside the limits within which the Jews are permitted to live they were told that they had no right to be there, and the houses remain untenanted. A large hall and pleasure-garden were established in the same place by the same owner, but as the population of Pinsk is practically entirely Jewish, the police prevented the use of these also as being outside the boundary.

In addition to the schools and educational establishments to which I have referred, further burdens are cast upon the Jewish community in supporting their poor co-religionists. In most Russian towns hospital accommodation is bad and scanty, and Christian patients would always have the preference. Hence in almost every

town Jewish hospitals have been built and are maintained out of the pockets of the well-to-do Hebrews. In Pinsk, for example, there are two hospitals of twenty-five beds each, and a large and admirable new building is being erected by the charity of Mr. Halpern.

There is a loan society from which money is advanced to the poor without interest, a society for providing wood in the winter, another for giving meal and meat on the Jewish holidays, a practical school to teach sewing and tailoring to girls, and a technical school for boys, who learn the ironwork craft. There are seven Jewish public schools and two Jewish girls' schools, two almshouses for old people, and a kitchen for the poor, in which both Jews and Christians are received and meals are given for a trifling payment. It will be seen that the Jewish people do all they can, and all the State will allow, to render the lives of their co-religionists more tolerable. These efforts account for the fact that the emigration is not more considerable than it is.

CHAPTER VIII

OFF THE BEATEN TRACK

FROM Pinsk I made a journey into the interior of the country in order to study the conditions in the small towns and villages. I formed the opinion that the lot of the Jews is much happier here than in the great towns. Poor they generally are, but then the whole population is poor.

We started on our travels in a small river steamer. It was crowded with passengers, the majority of them Jews, though there was a sprinkling of Christian peasants and farmers. One of the passengers was an old woman who had been to visit a doctor in Pinsk. There was no medical man in the whole district from which she came. I got into conversation with her and asked her about her diet, &c. She told me that meat was hardly ever eaten in the villages by the Jewish people, and that except in a case of serious illness no one would dream of killing a fowl.

The river in the early morning presented an animated scene. It was crowded with canoes and dug-out boats bringing produce to market. They were loaded to the water's edge with passengers, fowls, geese, hay, vegetables, earthen pots, and a variety of wares. On the approach of the steamer there was great shouting and excitement, the boats hurrying to the shore in order to avoid the wash of our vessel. The women and children and some of the men were flung or flung themselves on the bank amid much laughter. The peasantry were clad in their national costume—long homespun coat, a girdle, linen trousers, long Russian boots, and black Astrachan cap. The whole scene reminded me again of parts of Burmah,—long stretches of watery meadow-land with banks of reeds and rushes, and every now and then a collection of tumbledown wooden houses against a background of stunted trees.

After about five hours on the steamer the river became so narrow and shallow that it was impossible to go further, and we had to land and proceed in carts—the ordinary village vehicle, a few boards and sticks on four wheels. By filling them with hay one improvises a sort of seat, half-bed, half-couch, and is able to get along without being quite jolted to pieces. The



RUSSIAN PEASANTS, GRODNO



MY MOTOR, PINSK

drivers are all Jews, and make their living by taking passengers or goods from the steamers to the villages.

In this way, after about five miles' travelling, we came to the village of Pohosk. It is typical of the kind of thing one finds. In this place there are one hundred houses, seventy kept by Jews and thirty by Christians. The latter are exclusively employed in agriculture. The inn was kept by a Jew. He also owned a shop and a brickfield, and was a comparatively prosperous man. Many of the remaining Jews are employed as carmen and carriers. In the summer they use their carts to bring passengers from the steamer to the town, and in the winter for carrying wood and other produce. Others find employment in the brickfields at wages from 5 to 6 roubles (about 10s. to 12s.) a week. But this work does not last very long, and when it ceases they make a living as boatmen or wood-choppers. The tailor, the shoemaker, the locksmith, &c., were all Jews, and the Jewish and Christian population live in perfect harmony together.

In Pohosk I found a Jewish religious college or "Yesheba," held in the local synagogue and attended by over 100 boys of all ages. They came from different parts of the country, and

for their maintenance the rabbi, a saintly enthusiast, raised subscriptions from people who had really nothing to give. When I went into the school the whole of the scholars were reading from the Scripture, each from his own book, and each at the top of his voice; they were screaming and howling and rocking themselves to and fro, working themselves up into a sort of religious ecstasy. The noise was deafening. The rabbi seemed as pleased and as proud of it as a successful leader of an orchestra would be of his band.

I had a long discussion with him as to the utility of his work, and asked him whether he did not think it would be better to teach the boys something which would give them a more valuable equipment for the struggle in life. But the things of this world had no sort of importance for him, and he argued that to fill his pupils with religious zeal and a firm belief in a future existence was of far more importance than any other kind of education, and would furnish them with spiritual resources, which would render them impervious to the afflictions showered upon them by an intolerant Government. I gave him a subscription to his school, and left him under the belief that he had persuaded

me by the force of his arguments. A newly appointed Governor of the province of Minsk, when making a tour of inspection, was shown over a similar school. In his report he took occasion to praise the Jewish institutions which he had seen, and remarked that their enthusiasm for education carried them to the extent of maintaining schools for the instruction of madmen!

In Pohosk I visited some of the houses of the Christian peasantry. It was a Sunday, and they wore their smartest national costume. Several families, apparently, were housed in one large living room. It was clean and neat. Round four sides of the wall ran a bench for the accommodation of themselves and their guests. Bundles of dried vegetables, meat, &c., were hanging from the beams in the room, and two or three tripods from which cradles were suspended formed a feature of the place. These are taken by the women into the fields, and the mother leaves her child swinging in the cradle while she works. The whole dwelling gave one an impression of cheerfulness and comfort, and the people seemed happy and thriving.

From Pohosk we took boat again for a few miles by cart to the village of Sterniki, an

ideal little place with pretty thatched cottages among trees, a green-roofed church in the middle, and a fine old wooden cross in the market-place. The population consists of some 700 families, 210 of which are Jewish. Forty of these Hebrew families have settled here since the May Laws came into force, and a dispute is proceeding with regard to them on the question whether or not the place can be considered a town under the terms of the law. The newcomers naturally desire that it should be so considered, but—it is curious to note—this was opposed by the original Jewish inhabitants, who are by no means anxious to meet the competition of more of their co-religionists than necessary. An analogous feeling prevails in the Hebrew community of New York and, as I have good reason to believe, is by no means uncommon among the Jews in the East End of London.

At Sterniki I met the head of the local police, who spoke well of the Jewish population, and said that there was no ill-feeling between them and the Christians.* Their

* A curious parallel is supplied by the Jews in Abyssinia, where they are called "Falashas." A considerable colony, almost completely isolated from their co-religionists, has existed in that country for a long time; legend says since the days of King Solomon. They live in certain provinces, in

behaviour presented no special features. They were quiet and orderly, and gave little trouble. I asked him whether the Jewish people were addicted to any particular class of offences. He told me that they were not.

About ten or fifteen families were said to have

hamlets interspersed among those of the other inhabitants. "Their settlements are strikingly distinguished from the Christian villages by the red earthen pot on the apex of their mesquid, or place of worship." The Rev. H. A. Stern, whose book about them was published in 1862, attempted unsuccessfully to convert them to Christianity. He found that they prided themselves on their descent and the purity of their blood, and that "intermarriages with those of another tribe or creed were strictly interdicted." They practised monogamy and, in a land where the utmost laxity prevails, showed a high regard for morality. They knew the books of Moses and David, and were devout with regard to ritual observances. The Jews were ignorant and backward, but not bigoted. Although they showed detestation of the Abyssinian creed, they listened with interest and goodwill to Mr. Stern. "Husbandry and a few simple trades, such as smiths, potters and weavers," he wrote, "constitute the sole occupations in which they engage." The Christian Abyssinians, though they have shown intolerance at times, are not hostile to the Falashas, who live unmolested in their primitive but worthy fashion. There are no large cities in the country, and there is no ghetto. Coin is very scarce, and bars of salt are used as currency; so it may be inferred that usury is little known. It appears to me that these simple folk afford another example of the fact that Jewish people are useful in thinly inhabited tracts of undeveloped country, and that the surroundings in such regions have a beneficent effect, both on themselves and on their relations with their non-Jewish neighbours.

emigrated from this place to America, but I did not hear of any who had gone to London. The district over which the police officer presides is large, some thirty miles long by ten broad, and he has very few men under him—a fact which speaks well for the law-abiding character of the population, or, from another point of view, ill for the arrangements made by the Government to preserve order.

From Sterniki we proceeded to Gorodno, a journey of about twenty-five miles, by cart. It took us from five o'clock in the afternoon till midnight to accomplish this. The night was beautiful, with a brilliant moon in a cloudless sky. Part of our way lay through dense forests of birch, pine and oak. The birches were like trees of silver in the moonlight. But I shall never forget the roads. These are for the most part made by the simple process of cutting logs into the requisite lengths and throwing them on the ground. For miles the journey was like a quick succession of violent blows on one's back, and I arrived as stiff and as sore as if I had been flogged with a heavy stick. The country is marshy, and many small bridges have to be crossed. These consist of loose planks laid upon beams, and if the cart does not strike them in the middle they cant up in a

most alarming manner. Often a plank or two is missing, and this adds a pleasant excitement to the journey.

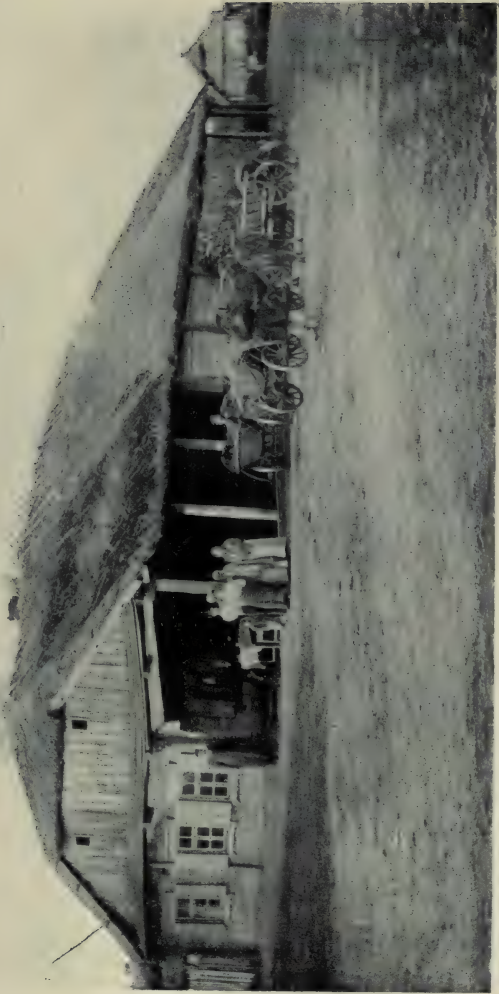
At Gorodno there was nothing that could be called an inn, and we had to put up at a house kept by a Jew, where travellers were supposed to be entertained. There was nothing whatever for their entertainment, except an evil-smelling oil lamp, which was lit with some difficulty and disclosed a wooden table on a very dirty floor, two suspicious-looking settees, and two wooden chairs. I preferred the floor to the settees, and bivouacked upon that, surrounding myself with an earthwork of insect powder. This entrenchment was gallantly, and, I may add, successfully attacked throughout the night, and by the time dawn came I presented the appearance of one who has partially recovered from a severe attack of chicken-pox or measles.

The principal industry here is the making of earthen pots and jars. The potters are Christians, but after the vessels are made, no other than Jewish hands touch them. The Jews buy them from the peasants at an average price of about one copeck apiece, pack them in carts, and take them away by road or river to the market. The business has attained considerable proportions, and the earthen vessels

are distributed over a very wide area. The enterprise of the Jews is well illustrated by the fact that they frequently take boatloads of these fragile goods as far north as Kovno, 300 or 400 miles away.

In the whole area of country which I covered in this journey, some 150 miles, there was not a single state school or a single doctor. In Gorodno an epidemic of scarlet fever was raging, and the children were dying like flies, without the remotest possibility of medical assistance. The nearest available doctor was in Pinsk, but when summoned he had no desire to visit these remote villages. The only manner in which he could be brought by the relatives of the sick was that they should go into the town and entertain him until he lost his senses. When in this condition, he was carried on board a boat and, on recovering, would find himself in the presence of his patient. It was curious to reflect that these things happened within forty-eight hours of Berlin, and that a condition of affairs existed which it would be impossible to match in the most remote corner of the Indian Empire.

The population generally is sunk in ignorance and superstition, and the moral tone seems to be extremely bad. I was told that in some of the



A HOTEL IN THE INTERIOR, PINSK

villages it was quite an ordinary custom for the people to change wives all round, and venereal disease was said to be prevalent.

From Gorodno we travelled by cart about fifty miles, and finally reached water again at Limechevitz, where we found a tiny steamer owned by an enterprising Jew, who was captain, engineer and stoker all in one, and made a living by carrying produce and passengers to Pinsk.

The general impression left on my mind by the Russian peasant in the interior is of a patient, good-natured creature, somewhat servile in manner, and extremely stupid and superstitious. Tied to his native village, which he cannot leave without permission, and provided with no education, he makes little progress. His lot is one of increasing hardship and anxiety. It is well known that at the time of the emancipation of the serfs a piece of land was granted to each commune to be divided among the peasants, who held allotments of ten to thirty acres each. A man, on leaving his village, gives up his land. This arrangement seems to have worked well enough for a time, but the population is increasing rapidly, while there is no corresponding increment of the land available, and subdivision is steadily lessening each individual's share. The end no man can

divine ; for there is not a sign of improvement in agricultural methods. The only hope seems to lie in finding industrial occupation for the people.

In this respect the Russian peasant is severely handicapped by his want of energy and initiative and his gross ignorance. Moreover, one hundred and sixty-five saints' days and holidays are recognized by the State, and on these occasions no orthodox Russian may work.

The Muscovite villager is a jovial character, and likes his glass. The quantity of raw spirit he can consume is surprising. The Government monopoly, however, has considerably reduced the consumption per head of the population. At the licensed houses the liquor is purchased in corked bottles, the contents of which vary from one glass to a much larger quantity.

It must not be consumed on the premises or within fifteen yards of the door. The people go in, purchase their drink and retire to the legal distance. The cork is then removed by giving the base of the bottle a smart tap, and the liquor is swallowed without the aid of a glass. Then the customer returns to the bar, where he hands in the bottle, and the price of it is returned to him.

Many Russian villages cover a large area. They are generally laid out beside one long wide street. The cottages are of wood and each is surrounded by its garden. I believe this arrangement is adopted partly as a protection against fire. In the towns where, of course, the houses generally adjoin, a fire is a serious matter, and street after street is sometimes burned down in a very short time.

I saw one small conflagration at Dvinsk and, if one may judge from the fire brigade there, it is a miracle that any Russian town consisting of wooden houses is left standing. The engine was an old, rickety hand-machine, which was supplied with water by carts. Each of these carried an ordinary cask. They were taken at a gallop to and from the river, where the casks were filled by men who baled the water up in hand-buckets.

My own observations in the country districts bore out what I had been told as to the relations between Jews and Christians. The difference of religion naturally causes a certain social separation, but I was unable to discover any evidences of ill-will. Ordinarily the two races work harmoniously in their different spheres. Some years ago—in 1891—the *St. Petersburg Gazette* collected and published

information derived from official sources with regard to the comparative position of the peasantry outside and inside the provinces of the Jewish Pale. Outside the Pale the average indebtedness of the peasant to the Government, as shown by the arrears of taxation, was 83 copecks per person ; inside the Pale it was 26 copecks. Outside the Pale the death-rate of the rural population was 35.6 per thousand ; inside the Pale it was 29.8. These figures certainly support the contention which I have already put forward, that the Jews are a beneficial element in the population and promote prosperity when distributed in thinly populated agricultural regions like those of Western Russia, where the Christian people have no natural tendency to organize trade on their own account.

I am unable to account with any certainty for the recent massacre at Kishineff, unless it is a fact that the old unpardonable lie about "ritual murders" had been revived. My conjecture is that the bitter discontent caused by the conditions under which the poorer Christians live must find an outlet, and that their superstition is craftily used by the official classes to direct their resentment against those who are not their real enemies. I cannot say

how far usurious practices are responsible for such outrages. Methods of extortion are, no doubt, a greater curse to the Hebrew community than to those whom they victimize, and the evil deeds of a few money-lenders are made the means of exciting the savage ill-will of the people against the whole race.

CHAPTER IX

IN POLAND

FROM Pinsk I travelled to Warsaw, as I was anxious to make myself acquainted with the position of affairs in Poland. Here the conditions under which the Jew lives are different from those in Russia proper. The laws and restrictions are not so severe. They can dwell anywhere and even acquire land, though there do not seem to be many who avail themselves of the privilege.

In Poland great changes are in process of development. The landed gentry are for the most part ruined, and what is known as the parcellation of their estates is proceeding. The Jews by this means are acquiring a proportion of the land. The Polish gentry are turning their attention to commerce, but here they find the ground already occupied by the Jewish people, who for centuries have been firmly established in business. This adds to the strong social anti-semiticism which exists in

the country. The feeling between Christian and Jew is very different here from what it is in Russia, and the slightest cause may lead to an outbreak.

A serious riot occurred in Czenstochowa while I was there. It was alleged that a Christian woman had been beaten by a Jew. In a very short time the Christian population turned out and fell upon the Jews. Several people were killed and many injured, but the riot was promptly suppressed by the authorities. The Roman Catholic priests and people seem to be far more intolerant than the clergy of the Orthodox Church, and there is, further, bad feeling among the Hebrews themselves. The Polish Jews are keen Polish patriots ; anything Russian is distasteful to them, and they have no friendly feeling for their Russian co-religionists.

At each recurring census in Russia it is made apparent that the Jews increase much more rapidly than any other section of the population. The following statistics for Poland from the year 1816 to 1897 bring out this fact :

YEAR	CHRISTIANS	JEWS
1816	2,519,380	212,944
1897	8,079,572	1,316,576

The ratio of increase of Christians is therefore 220.7, and that of Jews 518.4 per cent.

The causes of this abnormal increase would seem to be :

(1) Natural fecundity.

(2) Early marriage.

(3) The care bestowed upon children by the Jews, and the religious observances which protect women at critical periods.

While, on the one hand, the Jewish population is thus multiplying far more rapidly than the Christian, there has been no corresponding increase in the trades and occupations open to the Jews. On the contrary, the employment available for them has diminished and their economic position has grown and is growing steadily worse. These conditions especially affect the poorer class. The internal trade of the country, which provides a livelihood for the greater part of them, has undoubtedly increased since the emancipation of the serfs, but this expansion has not kept pace with the increase in the number of Jewish traders and workmen. The commercial development, as shown by the establishment of large factories, is only beneficial to a small number of rich Jews, who have invested capital in these undertakings. These successes are directly injurious to the mass of

Jewish artizans who make their living in the small home industries and are not to any great extent employed in the factories.

As I have said, there are no restrictions in Poland as to the places in which Jews may live, but this freedom does not appear to be of great advantage to them. The emancipation of the serfs reduced the earnings of many Jews who until then had had a monopoly of the transport trade. Before that time the peasants were compelled to work for the landowners, and the short intervals between the days when they were thus occupied did not permit them to leave their villages for more than one or two days, so that it was impossible for them to take any considerable part in long distance transport. Moreover, at this time they owned but few horses. They kept oxen for their ploughs, but as soon as they received their freedom all this was changed. The peasantry got rid of their oxen and began to keep horses, and the time at their disposal enabled them to take part in the carrying business.

The kingdom of Poland now has a greater mileage of railways than any other part of the Russian empire, and the road transport industry, especially for long distances, has naturally declined. Still, the stimulus to the

general movement of trade has to some extent compensated for this, even in the haulage business. But the Jewish people have been the chief sufferers, because they formerly controlled the long-distance traffic. The cartage of goods from the villages to the stations and similar carrier's work is now in the hands of the peasantry. Roughly speaking, the peasants earn in this branch of industry not less than one and a half million roubles annually, and that approximately is the amount lost to the Jews.

In 1876 more energetic means were taken to prevent smuggling. A large contraband trade, chiefly in German spirit, had previously been carried on by Jewish people. Liquor was smuggled at all points along the Prussian frontier. The Government organized a special excise in addition to the frontier police to repress this traffic. A further diminution of employment resulted from the introduction of new forest laws. These, to a large extent, stopped speculation in an important branch of trade. The Jews ceased to buy estates. They formerly purchased land in order to cut down the timber, and afterwards sell the ground in allotments. The new forest laws not only affected the richer class, but the agents and

workpeople employed in the business, who were also for the most part Hebrews.

The foundation of "peasant banks" has operated in the same direction. In earlier times Jews acted as intermediaries in the sale of allotments of land. Their services were then in much request, for a purchaser had to be found who could pay the whole price at once or guarantee instalments, and this was often a difficult matter. Now the peasant banks advance money to the buyer. The facilities thus given have greatly increased the number of transactions. There is no need to seek out wealthy purchasers, and the services of intermediaries are no longer required.

Again, the Government monopoly of the trade in spirits forced the Jews who kept stores, public-houses, or cook-shops where liquor was sold, to wind up their businesses and re-invest their capital, often at a heavy loss. Many of them had a difficulty in finding a fresh field for their operations.

The establishment of the "Loan Savings Banks" in the villages has been a heavy blow to Jews engaged in money-lending. These banks were first opened in 1863. In 1899 there were 1320 of them in Poland. Their funds amounted to 22,283,360 roubles (approx-

mately £2,228,336), and they granted loans to the extent of 18,938,900 roubles (about £1,893,890). The turnover of the usurers was reduced by this amount at least. The operations of these banks do not, of course, cover all transactions in which money is advanced. But it is estimated that they have reduced the usurious profits of the Jews by some half a million sterling yearly, even on the supposition that the peasants only pay twenty-four per cent interest. Investigation in the Government of Radom, however, showed that borrowers were paying thirty-six, forty-eight, and up to sixty per cent.

The foregoing facts show that, even without rapid multiplication, the position of the Jews would have become worse. The increase of their numbers has, of course, added to their difficulties. The effect upon their moral character has been bad. Crimes to which they were not formerly addicted are now prevalent among them. Moreover, as recently as the sixties of the last century, there were no Jewish prostitutes in Poland, but now Warsaw is full of Jewish women of that class. This deterioration is, in my opinion, due to the loss of prosperity.

In Warsaw there are nearly 300,000 Jews

out of a total population of 736,625. I spent several days in visiting the ghettos and studying the conditions under which their inhabitants live. The dwellings were in many instances bad and overcrowded, but I came across none so miserable as those that I had seen in Vilna. Many of the poorer classes live in buildings five or six storeys high. In these, rooms and flats are let as tenements. In Vilna the houses are much smaller and older, and a large number of people live underground. In Warsaw I met the Rev. Dr. Octavius Ellis, of the Jewish Mission. He had recently returned from Whitechapel, where he had been working for five years. He has had twenty-five years' experience of Warsaw, and he told me that the conditions in the East End were, in his opinion, far worse than in the Polish capital, and that the emigrants to England are, as a rule, drawn from the most necessitous class.

I have already referred to the admirable educational and charitable establishments which the wealthy Jews provide for their poorer brethren in Warsaw, but I was warned not to be misled as to the true condition of affairs by the impression which these institutions left upon my mind. It is too true that they provide no criterion of the real condition of the people ;

they affect only the fringe of the Jewish population.

There are one or two manufactories in which Jews as well as Christians are employed. Mr. Whitehead, manager of Mr. Fineken's lace factory, spoke very favourably of his Jewish work-people. They are skilful and diligent, and he had no fault to find with them except that they would, unless carefully watched, try to do too much and so over-run the machines. He told me that the morality of the Jewish girls was higher than that of the other hands. Few of the former were lax in this respect. Among the latter, the necessity frequently arose of dismissing a girl owing to her pregnancy. Mr. Polakievitz's tobacco factory in Warsaw serves as a training-school for this industry. Many hundreds of work-people who have learned the handicraft there have emigrated to America or England. They leave solely with the object of bettering their position. Their wages run from 6*s.* 3*d.* for girls to 14*s.* 7*d.* for men. The pay seems small, but the standard of living is lower, commodities are cheaper, and the wants of the people more simple. They usually save money and either marry or emigrate. I saw several who had been to New York and England. They told me that they had

come back not because they had failed abroad, but because they preferred to be among their own people in their native country.

Mr. Polakievitz also spoke well of his Jewish hands; they gave no trouble, were obedient, orderly, and diligent. Careful provision is made for the health and comfort of the employees. There is a school in the factory for their children. The establishment showed what could be done for the children of the ghetto in their own country.

Time did not permit me to study the conditions in the smaller towns and villages, and I cannot say from personal observation whether the Jews avail themselves of the right to live upon the land to any considerable extent. But it is unquestionable that their tendency is in Poland, as elsewhere, to crowd into the cities.

From Warsaw I went to Lodz, the Manchester of Eastern Europe. Here, of the 400,000 inhabitants, some 150,000 are Jews. Few are employed in the large mills, although several of these are in Jewish ownership. The principal manufacturers, however, are Germans. There is not a single factory owned by a Christian Pole.

The fact that Jewish hands are not employed by Jewish masters is a distressing feature of the

industry. The alleged reason is that Christians will not work on Sunday nor Jews on the Sabbath. Consequently, unless the machinery is to lie idle two days in the week the work-people must be either all Jews or all Christians. It was also said that the foremen-engineers and mechanics were Christians, so that even if Jews were employed on Sunday the machines could not be worked. I believe that these difficulties might be overcome. They have been surmounted in Warsaw. First-rate Jewish foremen, engineers and mechanics are being trained in the technical schools every year, and it seems inconsistent that philanthropists should provide instruction for the boys and not find openings for them when they are efficient.

Lodz is a centre of the spinning industry. The cloth made there is generally of the cheapest kind ; and I was interested to notice that truck-loads of rags arrive daily from England to be torn up and rewoven. Not long ago the town was a small place, inhabited chiefly by Jews, who were employed in hand-loom weaving. The industry is still carried on ; certain kinds of cloth are made more cheaply in this way. But it is a declining trade. The most capable men, working fifteen to eighteen hours a day, can only earn about 14s. a week. Many hundreds of



CHILDREN OF THE GHETTO, WARSAW



JEWISH WORKERS, POLAKIEVITZ TOBACCO FACTORY, WARSAW



JEWISH TECHNICAL SCHOOL, LODZ



THE SLUMS, LODZ

Jewish families gain a precarious living at the old hand-loom.

The industry is carried on under appalling conditions. I shall never forget the places in which I saw this work being done. It would need the pen of a Zola to describe them. Three or four looms were crammed into one room with as many families. I have never, even in Vilna or the East of London, seen human beings condemned to live in such surroundings. They had the appearance of half-starved consumptives.

The streets are narrow, and the houses mostly of wood. Some of them are four or five storeys high and are packed solid with humanity. The number of children is incredible. I remarked to one man, that, however badly off they were for work and money, there was no lack of babies. He replied that the fact was they had no other amusement. The roofs of these houses slope steeply, and I found people living between the topmost floor and the wooden tiles. Into these receptacles one could hardly creep on one's hands and knees. As I clambered up the crazy ladder leading to them I trembled to think what would happen in case of fire—what is certain to happen sooner or later. I was told that the police had inter-

ferred to prevent people from sleeping in these lofts, but that they were re-occupied as soon as the officials turned their backs. Those are precisely the difficulties with which we are familiar in the foreign quarters of the East End.

In Russia the police have full authority to go anywhere and do anything, and no one is troubled by scruples or sentiment. If, in such a country, the authorities are powerless to prevent these things, what hope is there that our own sanitary officers, few in number, with restricted powers, and impeded by cumbrous procedure, will succeed in abating the same terrible evils so long as we continue *without check or control* to recruit our population from such sources.

Lodz, with its rich Jewish families, has, of course, many charitable institutions. But I was not so favourably impressed by them as I was by those I visited in other places. The buildings were magnificent, but more attention seemed to have been given to the structure than to the management. For instance, the school for poor girls looked well from the road, but within it was badly ordered, and compared unfavourably with the establishment of the same kind which I had seen in Warsaw.

A similar remark applies to the technical school for boys, a building upon which a very large sum must have been spent.

The Posnanski Hospital is a handsome stone structure. From the outside it looks like a palace, or a Gallery of the Fine Arts in a capital town. It contains 100 beds, and is designed in conformity with the most modern requirements.

The management, however, seemed to be far from modern. The patients were wandering about as they pleased. In a corridor outside one of the wards I found two inmates at work upon a heap of filthy bandages.

The advantage of laying down a marble floor seems doubtful where there is no regulation regarding the use of spittoons—especially where many of the patients are consumptives.

The wards were airy and light but indescribably depressing, without a vestige of decoration or of furniture except the beds. Above all, there was not, apparently, a single sister or nurse in the whole establishment. My thoughts went back to the London Hospital in the Whitechapel Road with its staff of 500 sisters and nurses—as kind, as skilful, a body of women as any in the world. I remembered their beautifully ordered wards, the flowers and

the pictures, the sense of restfulness and comfort which the whole place gives in spite of the human suffering it contains. These things, at all events, we can do better in the East End.

While I was walking round the hospital at Lodz, I found a Jewish mother who had come to visit her sick son. They were seated on the stairs. She was stuffing her boy with some very unwholesome-looking food taken from a large dish which she had brought with her. With one thought of what my friend Mr. Sydney Holland would say in such circumstances I fled.

The commercial and financial position of Lodz is unsound. There has been over-speculation. Large factories have been started on a few thousand roubles cash and the remainder loans and mortgages. The business of the place is principally conducted by means of bills of exchange. Even wages are sometimes paid in paper. The discounting of these drafts is a large business in itself. The place is a commercial Mont Pélée, which may blow up at any moment. When it does, the ashes and débris will be carried as far as Whitechapel. Money is extremely dear, ten per cent. being considered a moderate rate of interest for a first-class concern. This state of things brings about periodic

crises. A few years ago about half the place went bankrupt, and at least 40,000 people left the town.

At such times the Jewish hand-loom industry, together with other occupations, comes to a standstill, and the people are almost reduced to starvation. Here, as in Warsaw, where employment for the Jews is scarce, there is a tendency for every one to become a merchant or trader. Many start a small shop or other business with a totally inadequate capital. They carry it on for a short time till the inevitable smash comes. A Jew who has once occupied the position of a trader will do anything rather than live by manual or menial labour in a place where he is known. Consequently, the only thing left for him is to leave; and there is a steady outflow of such people from Lodz and the neighbourhood. Most of them get out of the country without the passports which the Russian law requires them to obtain. A large business is carried on in smuggling this class of emigrants across the frontier.

Both Lodz and Warsaw give point to the warning issued by Consul H. P. Smith of Odessa in his report to the Foreign Office written in January 1898. He said: "Experience teaches that Jews who seek credit in the

agricultural machinery trade take up the business with the original intention of sooner or later defrauding those firms who are induced to give them credit, and I would seriously advise all British firms to avoid doing business with them upon credit terms." This warning, of course, is not applicable to the trade in agricultural machinery alone. I give—in his own words—the statement made to me by the Consul-General at Riga upon the same subject: "There is another thing he (the Jew) puts into practice very often, as many of our British merchants and manufacturers know to their sorrow. He starts a business somehow, and after a time manages to get a few goods on credit. When payment becomes due he meets his bill and, of course, gives another order. He again pays promptly, and this time his order is stiffer. After playing in this way for a year or two he goes in for a big deal, and long before his bill arrives at maturity his property is transferred to his wife and his business to somebody else, and in spite of everything his foreign creditors and their lawyers can do there is absolutely nothing to be got out of him."

This matter seems to me so important that I make no apology for quoting from a letter which an official of the British Consulate-

General in Warsaw wrote to me in November 1902 : " You are quite right in saying that fraudulent bankruptcy prevails amongst the Jews in Poland and Russia ; it can be put down as a regular profession and is noticed everywhere, not only in commercial relations in the country itself but in a great measure also in business between Russia and England, and it thus does a lot of harm to opening up and encouraging British trade with Russia. A favourite game consists, for instance, in building houses on credit with enough money in hand to cover the initial expenses only ; then debts are contracted, the house mortgaged, and nearly always only a very small percentage of the money recovered when the house, always jerry-built, is sold by auction. I noticed at the autumn sale of the Warsaw Town Credit Society, which issues loans on houses, that on all houses belonging to Jews the sum for which the house was sold was considerably smaller than the debts. I have often noticed similar cases to that mentioned to you by Mr. Woodhouse ; they are very frequent, and the prosecution of the parties is very difficult on account of the primitive and incorrect registration of the books of Jews—as to which great abuses are the order of the day."

This malpractice is increasingly prevalent among the immigrants in the East End of London.

In Poland I heard frequent references to the apathy and indifference of English merchants and manufacturers. Though the purchasing power of the people is, comparatively, small, the dense population and the recent industrial development of the country provide a market, the value of which America and Germany have not been slow to appreciate. Lodz and other Polish and Lithuanian towns are full of active commercial travellers equipped with a knowledge of the languages spoken. They are keenly anxious to meet local requirements as to quality and price.

I was told that British firms are often badly represented, and that they content themselves with distributing circulars written in English and priced in English currency. These are of no more use than circulars in the Russian language and quoting prices in Russian currency would be in England. Commercial geography seems to be neglected in our schools, and the very existence of towns like Lodz, with nearly half a million inhabitants, Minsk with 100,000, and Vilna with 160,000, is hardly known.

Recently the relations between the Germans

and Poles became strained. Feeling ran so high that German goods were boycotted for a time. It was a golden opportunity for British commerce ; but it was missed. There is a large demand for ploughs. This has hitherto been met by Germany. English firms were approached, but either could not or would not make the small adaptations required by the custom of the country. Many similar instances could be given of markets neglected and trade lost. I do not think that the responsibility for this rests wholly on commercial men. Our interests do not seem to be adequately represented. For instance, the Warsaw consular district is larger than all England ; it contains 130 towns, and the industries of the country are increasing in volume and in importance. We are represented by one man with an honorary assistant.

I think we ought not only to have more consuls but that greater care should be taken in the selection of the men appointed, and that a knowledge of the language of the country should be a *sine quâ non*.

It seems to me essential that our consuls should not only be trusted by the British colony in the town to which they are sent, but should also be in a position to win the confidence of the official and commercial classes of the

country where they hold their appointment. It is needless to insist on the important part which knowledge of the language plays in the attainment of this object. In Russia much more can be effected privately than by formal action. Russian officials are extremely cautious about committing themselves on paper, and a little friendly negotiation is worth many reams of letters.

Our consular reports on commercial matters seem to be more used abroad than at home. They are eagerly read in Germany, and merchants there inquire promptly into the merits of any suggestions which they contain.

CHAPTER X

GALICIA

THE emigration movement among Jewish people is by no means confined to Russia and Poland. In Galicia the pressure is quite as strong, though the cause of it is different. In Austria-Hungary there are no laws against the Jews, yet here, in the opinion of a competent Jewish authority, the misery among them reaches its highest point. The vital statistics of the Galician Jews, for instance, are the most unsatisfactory known to the race. The following figures regarding infant mortality up to five years bring out this point. They were quoted by Dr. Jeremias of Posen at the Zionist Congress in 1901 :

Frankfort-on-Main (per 1000),	Jews	129,	Christians	240
Amsterdam	"	"	88	" 115
London	"	"	130	" 240
Galicia	"	"	560	" 540

Here, too, although there is no law compelling them to herd together they crowd into

the towns. This shows that the congestion so bitterly complained of in the Russian Pale is not solely due to legislative interference. In Poland, in Galicia, in England, and in America, where no restrictions exist, the Jews flock to the cities in just the same way. In the one case they are compulsorily herded together, in the others they herd together of their own free will; and one is bound to ask one's self whether, if the restrictions imposed by the May Laws were removed, there would be any considerable relief of the existing pressure in the Pale or a wider dissemination of the Jewish people. For instance, there are some 30,000 Jews in Cracow, at least half of them extremely poor. They seem to have nothing to do, and it is a mystery how they live.

This town, the ancient capital of Poland, lies outside the ordinary range of the tourist. But I recommend those who are in search of something new and beautiful to visit the place. It is situated in a pleasant, fertile plain on the banks of the Vistula and is full of historic and architectural interest.

The city is commanded by a castle of the Polish kings which dates from the fourteenth century. Now, alas! it is used as barracks. In the Stanislas Cathedral the kings were



THE CASTLE, CRACOW

crowned, and there they lie buried. The Jagellon University, founded in 1401 by Casimir the Great, the old Gothic cloth booths, the ancient walls and Floriane gate with its circular fortress, and the numberless churches, are a pleasure alike to mind and eye.

Here, as elsewhere, I visited the slums of the ghetto. The houses and conditions of life were incomparably better than those of Vilna, Warsaw, or London. Agriculture is the chief industry of the country, and the Galician Jews, who are said to be the most backward, bigoted, and prejudiced of their race, do not readily take to it. There are no manufactories in which they might find employment. The feeling against them is very strong, and the Roman Catholic priests apparently do their best to stimulate it.

It is always safe, popular, and easy to preach a sermon against the Jews. There is a celebrated place of pilgrimage not far from Cracow which is visited by hundreds of thousands of people every year. Here a revolting picture hangs in a prominent place; it depicts a Jewish rabbi in the act of sacrificing a Christian child. Underneath it is an inscription in Polish, saying that the blood was to be used in preparing the food of the Jews at one of their festivals.

The people give credence to the legend, and believe that it refers to a recent occurrence. Such means as these are used to work upon an ignorant populace, which is even unaware that the use of blood in any shape or form is strictly prohibited by the Mosaic law. Pilgrims may be found any day weeping and wailing in front of this outrageous shrine. Only a few years ago the people were directly warned in a Catholic organ of the daily press not to deal with Jews. This advertisement was stopped, but a variant of it now appears every day in large letters in the following form: "Deal only with Christians." The priests have established shops and stores in all the villages to compete with those kept by the Jews, and the people are enjoined to make their purchases only in these places. The origin of this movement is said to have been, and probably was, the desire to free the peasantry from the grip of the Jewish traders. It operates, and must continue to operate, as an incentive to emigration among the Jewish commercial classes.

In Austria there is, of course, complete liberty of the press, but this freedom is used to the disadvantage of the Jewish people in Galicia; they are constantly denounced. Some of the leaders of the Hebrew community in

Cracow gave it as their deliberate opinion that the position of their co-religionists in Russia was better than in Galicia. I have little doubt that there is some reason other than mere religious prejudice for the bad feeling which exists. Impartial people with whom I spoke said that where a Jew settles in the neighbourhood of a Christian peasant the latter is speedily ruined.

The Galician Jew of the old school is quite a type apart, and compares unfavourably in industry and ability with his co-religionists elsewhere. The high place in Jewry formerly held by the Galician Jews has long been lost. They are split into factions. One party, in its excessive eagerness for reform, has broken away from tradition, and the other and larger section remains wedded to the bigotry of the Middle Ages. But, generally speaking, the praiseworthy characteristics found among the Jews in other lands are not to be discerned in either party. There seems to be no keen desire for education, and I heard of no Jewish schools. But it must be remembered that in Austria the Jews enjoy the same opportunities of education as the rest of the people, and that in the public schools instruction in the Jewish religion is given once or twice a week at the cost of the

State. An attempt was made to establish a technical school for the Jews in Cracow. It was carried on with some success for a few years, but is now, unfortunately, closed owing to some disagreement between the Cracow community and the managers of the Hirsch Bequest in Vienna.

In Cracow the ultra-conservative Hebrews adhere to the costume of the Middle Ages. On the Sabbath they are to be seen wearing long, black silk gabardines reaching to the ground, and black velvet hats bound round with fur. They present a remarkable and picturesque appearance, and their costume is typical of the stage of evolution which they have reached.

There is practically no social intercourse between the Hebrew and Christian communities in Cracow.

The conditions which I have described naturally lead to emigration, and there is a steady outflow from Galicia to other parts of the world. It is stated that 8000 or 9000 Cracow Jews are to be found in New York alone, and doubtless there are many in London.

Galicia, however, is not without a large class of wealthy or well-to-do Jews. A fifth part of



POOR JEWISH CHILDREN, CRACOW



POOR QUARTERS, CRACOW

the land in the province belongs to them, and some of the largest estates are in their possession. It is said that in the Bukowina, the southern corner of Galicia, 22 per cent. of the great landed estates belong to Jews, and most of the remaining property is encumbered by mortgages held by them. I wish it to be understood that the time at my disposal did not enable me to make a close study of the conditions in Galicia; but all authorities concur in the conclusions at which I arrived, that the position of the Hebrew community is as bad here as anywhere, and that this part of Austria must be regarded as one of the principal sources from which emigration flows westward.

The conditions which prevail in Galicia lead to an important inference—that the legislative restrictions in other parts of Europe are not the sole cause of Jewish poverty and distress. The existence of a large, prosperous class of Jews, both merchants and land-owners, should enable the community to provide employment and relief for their own poor. But this result is not attained, and the problem created by the concentration of the people in the towns is as far from solution here as it is in the Russian Pale. In Galicia the Jews may almost be said to live under the conditions which would prevail if they

were a nation, inasmuch as every grade of society and every profession is represented among them ; but their organization does not seem to extend to the solution of their own economic difficulties.

CHAPTER XI

ROUMANIA

No study of the causes which lead to Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe would be complete without an examination of the situation in Roumania. The recent note of the American Government to the European Powers brought this subject prominently before the public. I wished to satisfy myself as to the real state of affairs, and with this purpose continued my journey from Cracow to Bucharest. I had the advantage of discussing the question with our Minister, Sir J. Gordon-Kennedy, with Mr. Take Ionesco, one of the ablest politicians in the country, and with many other prominent men, both Jew and Gentile.

I came to the conclusion that in Roumania the exodus of the Jewish population is due to the action of the Government. The Jewish question was a burning one before Roumanian independence was granted, and it has been so ever since. At the time of the Berlin Con-

ference in 1878, an attempt was made to place the Jewish subjects of Roumania upon a footing of equality with the rest of the population.

The evident intention of the Powers throughout the negotiations on the subject was to secure complete religious and civil emancipation for the Jews. The policy of the Roumanian Government was then, and is still, directly opposed to this intention. Rightly or wrongly, they have always asserted that such equality, if given to the Hebrew race, would end in the subjugation of their country by an alien people, and far from complying with the conditions laid down by the great Powers, their policy has been deliberately directed towards the suppression, political extermination, and expulsion of the Jews. One of the leaders of the anti-Semitic party in Roumania thus summarizes his case :

“The real issue which underlies the whole controversy is whether the Roumanian Jews ought or ought not to be regarded as aliens. Whatever may be said by theorists at a distance, they *are* aliens—alien in characteristics, alien in customs, alien in traditions, alien in aspirations, alien even, for the most part, in language. In the districts which they inhabit, 300,000 Jews dwell among 800,000 or 900,000 Roumanians.

Confronted by the problem thus raised, Roumania upholds the principle that this actually alien element of her population must be regarded in law as foreign.

“She is justified by the fact that, while the Roumanian Jews claim citizenship within her gates, they are conducting a campaign against the country abroad and trying to bring upon her the hostility of the civilized world. What nation admits its enemies to power?”

A historical survey of the question shows that these arguments are not genuine. The experiment of treating the Jews fairly has never been tried.

The political status of Roumania was determined, prior to the recognition of the independence of the country, by the Convention of 1858, to which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey were parties. Article 46 of this Convention provided that—

“All Moldavians and Wallachians shall be equal in the eye of the law, and with regard to taxation, and shall be equally admissible to public employments, in both Principalities.

“Their individual liberty shall be guaranteed. No one can be detained, arrested, or prosecuted, but in conformity with the law.

“No one can be deprived of his property unless legally, for causes of public interest, and on payment of indemnification.

“Moldavians and Wallachians of all Christian confessions

shall equally enjoy political rights. The enjoyment of those rights may be extended to other religions by legislative arrangements.

“All privileges, exemptions, or monopolies, which are yet enjoyed by certain classes, shall be abolished; and there shall, without delay, be undertaken a revision of the law which regulates the relations of the owners of the soil with the cultivators, with a view to improve the condition of the peasants.

“The municipal institutions, as well in the towns as in the country, shall receive all the developments which the stipulations of the present Convention will admit of.”

It was, unfortunately, provided that only persons of Christian confessions should enjoy equal political rights. But it is manifest from the tone of the article that the signatory powers desired to see reforms and liberal treatment introduced. The Roumanian Government and people did not conform to their wishes in this respect. On the contrary, a vigorous persecution of the Jews was commenced and maintained.

The subjoined extract from a petition by the Boyards of Jassy to Prince Charles shows to what an extent this maltreatment was carried :

“The undersigned, devoted subjects of your Highness, come to fulfil a faithful duty in calling your attention to the inhuman and illegal acts which are committed in contempt of the judicial power, which has been usurped by the administrative and municipal authorities under the orders and under the eyes of the Minister of the Interior in flagrant violation of the constitution and all our laws.

“Under the pretext of seeking for vagabonds, commissions

instituted contrary to the laws by incompetent authorities, kidnap hundreds of Jews, a great number of whom are proprietors, artizans, fathers of families, garrotting them and transporting them in crowds without a trial, while the law prescribes that every individual arrested for any reason whatever shall be immediately placed in the hands of justice. The authorities repel the intervention which the law prescribes to the Procureurs to take steps against illegal detentions. All this is done under the inspiration of popular meetings, which are held at the town hall under the auspices of the administrative authority, where the worst passions are excited.

“They have just chosen the chiefs of these clubs to entrust to them the execution of inhuman measures, of which nothing can check the course; to invest them with functions which could not be entrusted to them except by a decree from the Prince, given according to the laws.

“The Mayor, whom the law places under the orders of the Procureurs, refuses to obey their commands, and allows the populace, by whom the prisoners are guarded, to threaten under his very eyes the Procureurs themselves.

“The administrative and municipal authorities refuse to receive all complaints, from whatever quarter they may come, all alleging the verbal orders of the Minister who has organized this state of things.

“In fact, the course of all the laws is suspended, all commerce and all work is stopped, every one feels threatened, the most complete anarchy reigns in our towns, passions are more and more excited, and every one expects soon to see barbarous massacres—for the bad instincts which are encouraged by authority will never be satisfied. Such is, your Highness, the afflicting spectacle that our town presents. We can assure your Highness that if facts are laid before you in another light, it is because you are being deceived. Seeing that these deeds are a disgrace to our country and a menace to the liberty of individuals and the rights of the Roumans themselves, to whom no guarantee would remain if such a violation of the laws was tolerated, we think we are fulfilling a sacred duty to your Highness in bringing these facts to your know-

ledge, the least of which is esteemed and punished by the Penal Code as a crime ; and we beseech you, in the name of humanity and outraged justice—in the name of monarchical order and the independence of the country, which may be compromised—to make use of your powerful intervention to put an end to anarchy and to establish legal order.”

It is interesting to note that among the names appended to this protest were those of Demetre Stourdza, now Prime Minister, Basile Pogor (President of the Court of Appeal), Comte Carpe, and Nicholas Carpe. The two latter are prominent politicians in Roumania at the present time.

Diplomatic protests and European indignation have done little to help the Jews in Roumania. Great numbers were deprived of their means of livelihood by the Licensing Law passed with this object in 1873. It was the occasion of the following quaintly worded appeal from the Jewish community at Bacau, which Sir M. Montefiore communicated to Lord Granville :

“To the esteemed Sir Moses Montefiore, Baronet, greeting :

“The voice of distress and affliction, of weeping and lamenting, arises to you from your oppressed brethren in Moldavia. An Act has been passed to-day in our Parliament which prohibits Jews from selling any kind of

liquor both wine and spirits, and the greater number of our brethren in Moldavia, both in towns and villages, gain their livelihood from this traffic. Now what shall we do? The deputies have declared exultingly, Behold! the time has come to take away the honey, and the bees will fly away of themselves.

“Whither shall we flee from the persecution of the Government?”

“Woe unto us! Whither shall we go with our wives, children, and babes?”

“We have scarcely anything left from our limited means, not even sufficient to pay the expenses of our departure from the land.”

“Beloved brethren,

“Lift up your voices like a trumpet and petition in our favour the Sovereigns and Governments of Europe, so that the Roumanian Ministry may not entirely destroy us.

“Oh! that the Lord may have pity on this afflicted remnant of our race. How can we sit calmly and see the destruction of our wives and families?”

“The Government indeed desires to expel us entirely.

“When Gogalotzian and Bratiano were Ministers they issued Circulars to drive the Jews away from villages and small towns, but it was not a law.

“But now the Ministers have made it a statute law that we are not allowed to sell liquors either in towns or in villages.”

“Honoured Sir,

“We beseech thee entreat the Roumanian Prince to repeal this evil edict ; and may the Almighty give you grace and favour in the eyes of Kings and Princes. Our eyes are directed to the Lord in Heaven, and on earth to Moses, His servant.

“We earnestly look forward to your speedy answer.”

It would be tedious to give a detailed record of the persecution and oppression to which, in spite of incessant remonstrances by the Powers, the Roumanian Jews were subjected.

In 1878 came the negotiation of the Treaty of Berlin. That opportunity was taken by the statesmen of Europe to endeavour to free the Roumanian Jews, once for all, from their disabilities and sufferings. With this object Article 44 was introduced into the treaty. It runs as follows :

“En Roumanie la distinction des croyances religieuses et des confessions ne pourra être opposé à personne comme un motif d'exclusion ou d'incapacité en ce qui concerne la jouissance des droits civils et politiques, l'admission aux emplois publics, fonctions et honneurs, ou l'exercice des différentes professions et industries dans quelque localité que ce soit.

La liberté et la pratique extérieure de tous les cultes seront assurées à tous les ressortissants de l'Etat Roumain aussi bien qu'aux étrangers, et aucune entrave ne sera apportée, soit à l'organisation hiérarchique des différentes communions, soit à leurs rapports avec leurs chefs spirituels.

*Les nationaux de toutes les Puissances, commerçants ou autres seront traités en Roumanie sans distinction de religion sur le pied d'une parfaite égalité." **

The policy of the Powers aroused violent opposition in Roumania, and envoys were sent by King Charles's Government to the European Courts both to secure a modification of it and to obtain the recognition of Roumanian independence, which had been withheld by certain

* "In Roumania the difference of religious beliefs and confessions cannot be brought forward against anybody as a ground of exclusion or disability as regards the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public employment, offices, and honours, or the exercise of the different professions and industries in any locality whatsoever.

"The liberty and external observance of all creeds shall be assured to all the subjects of the Roumanian State as well as to foreigners, and no impediment shall be opposed either to the hierarchical organization of the different communions or to their relations with their spiritual heads.

"The subjects of all the Powers, traders or others, shall be treated in Roumania, without distinction of creed, on a footing of perfect equality."

of the Powers, including England and France, pending the acceptance of clause 44.

On February 1, 1879, Mr. White wrote to Lord Salisbury that the principle laid down in the Treaty of Berlin had been "fully and formally accepted by the Government here," and he pointed out that :

"One mistake is certainly made on the Roumanian side by all those who speak of all Jews in the Principality as foreigners forgetting that many have been called upon as citizens to serve in the army, and that there exists a certain number of families who have become indigenous, and have acquired rights by domicile for several generations.

"On the other hand, Jewish writers abroad lose sight of the fact that birth does not confer nationality in Roumania either on Christians or Jews as it does in many countries, and that therefore the treaty, in stipulating religious equality, cannot produce the effect of conferring on Jews born in Roumania rights of nationality other or greater than those that Christians could claim under similar circumstances."

After prolonged negotiations and a violent agitation in the country the law for the revision of Article 7 of the Roumanian Constitution was finally passed in the following form :

"Article 7. The difference of religious creeds and confessions does not constitute in Roumania an obstacle to the acquirement of civil and political rights and their exercise.

"Section I. Every foreigner, without distinction of creed, whether enjoying any foreign

protection or not, can acquire naturalization under the following conditions :

(a) By addressing to the Government an application for naturalization, in which must be declared the capital he possesses, his profession, and his wish to establish his domicile in Roumania.

(b) By residing in the country for ten years after having made this application, and by proving by his acts that he is useful to the country.

“Section 2. The following may be exempted from this delay of residence (ten years) :

(a) All who shall have introduced into the country industries, useful inventions, or distinguished talents, or who shall have founded large commercial or industrial establishments.

(b) All who, having been born and educated in Roumania of parents domiciled in the country, have, neither in their own case nor in that of their parents, at any time been in the enjoyment of any foreign protection.

(c) All who have served with the colours during the war of independence ; these can be naturalized collectively on the proposition of the Government by a single law without further formalities.

“Section 3. Naturalization can only be granted by a law and individually.

“Section 4. A special law will determine the manner in which foreigners can establish their domicile on Roumanian territory.

“Section 5. Roumanians, and naturalized Roumanian citizens, can alone acquire rural estates in Roumania.

“Rights acquired up to the present time are respected.

“The International Conventions existing at present remain in force, with all their clauses, and for the term mentioned therein.”

The Powers were not satisfied by this inadequate concession, and when independence was finally granted, an Identic Note was presented by the representatives of Great Britain, France and Germany at Bucharest. It was couched in the following terms :

“Her Britannic Majesty's Government have been informed, through the Agent of His Royal Highness the Prince of Roumania at Paris, of the promulgation, on the 25th October, 1879, of a law, voted by the *Chambres de Révision* of the Principality, for the purpose of bringing the text of the Roumanian Constitution into conformity with the stipulations inserted in Article XLIV. of the Treaty of Berlin.

“Her Majesty's Government cannot consider the new constitutional provisions which have been brought to their cognizance—and particularly those by which persons belonging to a non-Christian creed domiciled in Roumania, and not

belonging to any foreign nationality, are required to submit to the formalities of individual naturalization—as being a complete fulfilment of the views of the Powers signatories of the Treaty of Berlin.

“Trusting, however, to the determination of the Prince’s Government to approximate more and more, in the execution of these provisions, to the liberal intentions entertained by the Powers, and taking note of the positive assurances to that effect which have been conveyed to them, the Government of her Britannic Majesty, being desirous of giving to the Roumanian nation a proof of their friendly sentiments, have decided to recognize the Principality of Roumania as an independent State. Her Majesty’s Government consequently declare themselves ready to enter into regular diplomatic relations with the Prince’s Government.”

Since that time the Roumanian Government has taken no steps to justify the confidence reposed in it. The position of the Jews to-day is worse than it was before the Powers interfered. Enactments and regulations tending to harass and impoverish them have followed one another. These culminated in the introduction of the Artizans’ Law of March 1902, which, if it had been passed as originally presented, would literally have deprived Jewish working men of all means of subsistence.

Clause 4 was thus worded :

“*Foreigners*, in order to be admitted in conformity with the conditions of this law to the exercise of a calling, must prove that, in their

own country, there is reciprocity for Roumanians. In the absence of such proof they must previously obtain the authorization of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry."

The Roumanian Jews are classed as *foreigners*; they have no "country" in which there can be "reciprocity for Roumanians." Therefore, they could not have been "admitted in conformity with the conditions of this law to the exercise of a calling." The proposal seemed to be a piece of political villainy, and it raised an outcry throughout the world. But the incriminated Government explained that the wording of the clause was attributable to careless drafting!

It is impossible to believe that this inhuman provision was due to a mere mistake. Those responsible for it were aware that as far back as 1868 a diabolical measure, signed by thirty members of the Ministerial majority of the time, including the President of the Chamber, had been introduced, which was designed to bring the entire Jewish population to outlawry and beggary. It is interesting, because it is characteristic of the spirit which animates Roumanian Statesmen in dealing with the Jewish question, and I therefore quote the following clauses :

"Article 1. Jews will not be able to settle in urban communes without the authorization of the Communal Councils. They will not be able to reside in the rural communes under any pretext, even temporarily.

"Article 2. Jews guilty of contravention of the preceding article will be considered as vagabonds. The Communal Council decides and orders the necessary measures to send vagabonds back to their domicile.

"Article 3. Jews cannot hold landed property either in urban or rural districts. The sale and purchase of any landed property in favour of a Jew are void in law, and two-thirds of the price are dedicated to the local charitable institutions, the other third is handed over to the person giving information.

"Article 4. Any person who shall have abetted the contravention of the foregoing ordinances shall be condemned to the loss of his political rights for three to ten years, and to a fine of 20 per cent. of the value of the thing purchased.

"Article 5. No Jew may farm lands, inns, mills, distilleries, bridges, vineyards, pasturages, stables for fattening cattle, sheep-folds, taverns, or hostelries on the high roads. In like manner they cannot undertake any business of the State, the commune, or of any public establishment.

"Article 6. The authorities are prohibited from receiving any claim lodged by a Jew for company accounts or any other matters which would be in contravention of Article 5.

"Article 7. For a Jew to be allowed to carry on any trade, business, or traffic, he must possess a special letter of authorization, delivered by the authorities of the commune in which he has elected domicile. Any person contravening this ordinance will be punished by a fine of 50 francs to 300 francs. The authorities cannot allow any claim lodged by a Jew not in possession of the above-mentioned letter.

"Article 8. All trade in articles to eat or drink destined for Christians is prohibited to Jews. They can, however, sell such articles to their co-religionists. Any contravention of this prohibition involves a fine of 100 francs to 600 francs. In case of a repetition of the offence, the letter of authorization will be withdrawn.

"GENERAL ORDERS

"Article 9. All the Israelites in guilds and committees tolerated and authorized up to the present time in the different towns are and will remain suppressed from the date of the publication of the present law.

"Article 10. All laws, ordinances, decrees, and regulations contrary to the present law are and will remain abrogated from the day of its promulgation." (Thirty signatures appended.)

The following figures show to what extent the Jews have been allowed to take advantage of the chief benefit which the Powers sought to obtain for them, viz., the right of naturalization :

NUMBER OF JEWS ADMITTED TO CITIZENSHIP

In 1879	6
„ 1880	52
„ 1881	5
„ 1882	3
„ 1883	1
„ 1884-85	0
„ 1886	1
„ 1887-88	0
„ 1889	1
„ 1890-92	1
„ 1893-94	2
„ 1894-95	4
„ 1896-97	2
„ 1897-98	2
„ 1898-99	0
„ 1899-1900	5
In all	<u>85</u>

Of these twenty-nine are now dead. Thus in 1900 there remained fifty-six naturalized Jews in the whole of Roumania. Moreover, the children of naturalized subjects are not held to be naturalized. If they wish to become Roumanian citizens the whole process has to be repeated, and each individual case must be the subject of a vote in Parliament. When I was in Bucharest the case of a man, whose father had fought and been severely wounded in the war, came before the High Court. He claimed to be a naturalized subject. The decision was that the applicant had no right to consider himself a Roumanian.

In Roumania it is argued that many of the laws which are said to be devised against the Jews affect but few persons. But their cumulative effect is considerable. And there is this essential difference between the position of a real foreigner and a Jew; the former has the acknowledgment and protection of his Minister and his Government, the latter has not.

The Artizans' Law of March 1902 was modified in deference to the protest of the civilized world. But it still contains many vexatious provisions, which will doubtless be used to harass the Jewish workers. It is unnecessary to quote further from the weary list of enact-

ments that render the lives of the Roumanian Jews well-nigh intolerable. They have been almost entirely deprived of education. The schools themselves are used as centres of anti-Semitic agitation. The following sentences are taken from text-books ordered to be used by Christian and Jewish pupils alike in Roumanian secondary schools :

“Do not believe a Jew even when he is on his death-bed.”

“A Jew will not eat till he has deceived some one.”

“In most of the villages of Moldavia the inns are kept by Jews who, like leeches, suck the wealth of the peasants while inciting them to drunkenness.”

I was informed on good authority that Jewish patients are not received into Christian hospitals, and that in one case—the hospital at Craiova—they are excluded in spite of the express stipulation in the founder's bequest, that distinctions of creed or nationality should not be made.

It is even asserted that the St. Spiridon Hospital at Jassy only admits Jews “if their malady presents a particular interest for the instruction of students.”

Various occupations in succession have been

totally closed to the Jewish people, and the result is that nothing remains to them but to emigrate. Between 200 and 350 persons leave the country every week.

It has been shown that the spirit of the Roumanian law is to treat the Jew as a foreigner, but this principle is only adhered to when it is considered advantageous. The law for the army compels every man to serve, including foreigners who cannot show that they have already performed military service in their own country.

The subjects of other countries, even if they cannot do this, easily obtain exemption. But the Jews cannot, of course, claim to have served under any other Government, and they are obliged to enlist. When enrolled they are treated as pariahs, and cannot rise above the rank of corporal.

It is not claimed by the Jews themselves that the entire Jewish population is entitled to naturalization or to the full rights of Roumanian subjects. At the time of the Berlin Treaty there were probably not nearly as many Hebrews in the country as there are now. Apart from their natural growth, their numbers have doubtless been increased by immigration from Russia and Galicia.

The policy of the Roumanian Government with reference to the Jews is no doubt based upon a mistaken principle of self-preservation. The people are backward and ignorant. The official classes are prejudiced and corrupt, and are determined to keep in their own hands all that can be got out of the country. But it is absurd to suppose that the Hebrews, who only form a small percentage of the population, would overwhelm the native element.

That the Jewish community should be excluded from all participation in the government of the country and, as far as possible, from all share in its development, amounts to economic madness. The scarcity of 1899 and subsequent years made it only too apparent that improvement in the system of agriculture was imperative.

The evils that result in Russia from compelling the Jewish people to live crowded together in the towns are equally manifest here. In Bucharest there are 43,000 Jews, in Jassy 30,000, in Botochani 25,000, and so on. And although the Roumanian Jew is often a first-rate and versatile workman, the amount of employment available is limited, and the consequent poverty and distress are very great. These bad conditions have been much aggravated during

the last few years by failure of the crops and commercial depression.

Previous to 1899 there had been wild speculation in building, and the Jewish population took a large share in the work. The activity has now ceased, and thousands of workmen are without regular employment. This is undoubtedly a contributory cause of emigration.

It is alleged against the Jews that they are like rats deserting a sinking ship. But, in my opinion, had this portion of the Roumanian population been fairly, or even decently, treated, it is doubtful whether the Ship of State would have been in the distress in which she now is. I feel sure that the Jews would, under equal laws, have been quite as willing to meet these financial troubles as any other portion of the population, and much more capable of weathering them.

The smallest Jewish element in the counsels of the State would, in all probability, have modified the prodigal extravagance to which the Government has committed itself. The Roumanian debt amounts to £60,000,000, and there is little to show for it but preposterous public buildings and unproductive works. Temporary accommodation in the shape of 175,000,000

francs of Treasury Bills has been obtained. These fall due on December 1st, 1904. The question of their renewal will then come up, and the Hebrew population is looking with keen anxiety to the action which the great Jewish banking houses will take. Probably financial pressure rather than concerted action of the Powers must be employed to bring about an improvement in the condition of the Jews in Roumania and Russia. It used to be said that without the permission of the house of Rothschild war could not be made in Europe, and it would be interesting to see what a really solid and united combination of Jewish financiers would be able to effect.

In Bucharest I heard it said that rather than give increased rights to the Jews the Roumanian Government would accept international financial control. This is, probably, bluff. Such an arrangement would be a death-blow to the inflated national pride of the people ; but the present financial position is undoubtedly serious. Every second house in Bucharest is to let.

On arriving I thought that an election was in progress. Nearly all the windows were plastered with large bills inscribed with the words " De Inchiriat." I took this to be the

name of some popular candidate. Further inquiry elicited the fact that the words were Roumanian for "To Let." There are said to be 8000 law-suits pending for distress of rent and recovery of money advanced for building purposes. In Galatz large numbers of the houses in the poorer parts of the town are empty. This is in great measure due to Jewish emigration.

I was told by ladies in the town that they were unable to get any dressmaking done because the Jewish tailors had left *en masse*.

If any doubt existed in one's mind as to the capacity of the Jews for undertaking hard manual labour it would be dispelled by a visit to Roumania. In the towns, at all events, nearly all such work is in Jewish hands. The houses are generally roofed with tin plates. This industry involves hard work, activity, and exposure. It was odd to see a Christian church being roofed in this way by Jewish workmen, while they chanted a Jewish hymn.

The Roumanian Jew, as a type of his race, stands head and shoulders above his Galician neighbour, and many of his co-religionists in Russia and in Poland.

It is not only the poor and incapable who emigrate. In many cases those who leave are

capable working men, provided with a trade or handicraft which readily gains them employment in the country of their adoption. The emigration is carefully organized through committees acting for the Ika, or Jewish Colonization Association, and the Jewish Alliance of Vienna. I sat with one of the committees at Bucharest, and saw for myself the method in which the business was conducted.

The emigrants are divided into four classes—first, those who are received and provided for in America by the Jewish Committee. 150 francs for every adult over twelve years, and 75 francs for children below that age, have to be contributed by the emigrants. Only those who are genuine workmen in sound bodily health and their families are allowed to go under this class.

The second class comprises the families of those who have already emigrated. For these money is remitted from America to Paris by their relatives, and the Paris Committee of the Ika instruct their colleagues in Bucharest to send the emigrants, who are then allowed to go, provided they pass a careful medical examination. No family is sent to the overcrowded Jewish quarters of New York or Philadelphia unless some very strong reason is shown.

The third class comprises persons who pay 150 francs, and who produce evidence that they have friends in America willing to receive them and able to provide for them ; but such emigrants are discouraged from going to New York.

The fourth class consists of persons and families who go at their own cost. Most of the emigrants to England come under this head.

Those included in the first three classes, after satisfying the committee that they are fit and proper persons to emigrate, are provided with the balance of the purchase-money for their tickets, and helped in other ways.

No emigrant is allowed to pass the Hungarian or German frontier until a sum of 300 francs per adult and a smaller sum for children has been shown. This is arranged for by the Ika, who provide the person in charge of the emigrants with a cheque for the whole amount. The cheque is merely produced at the frontier station, and the party is allowed to proceed. From the books which I examined I satisfied myself that the organized Roumanian emigration does not at present play any considerable part in the movement as it affects England. In the week ending September 14, 1902, for instance, 352 persons left Roumania, of whom eight went to England and four to Paris. Of these eight

English immigrants six were for Manchester and two for London. In the previous week, ending September 7, out of a total of 347 persons six were for Paris, one for Manchester, and one for London.

These figures indicate what takes place throughout the year. The outflow has been continuous for the past eighteen months. Accurate figures previous to that time are not easily available, as the Jewish societies had not thoroughly organized the business before then. The comparatively insignificant number of those who go to England may be accounted for by the fact that the opportunities in America are known to be better, that the emigrants who have settled there attract their friends and relatives, and that the Jewish societies help the emigrants to America and Canada, whereas those travelling to England have in most cases to pay their own expenses.

The housing conditions of the poorer Jews in Bucharest and Galatz were by no means bad. As I have said, emigration and commercial depression have emptied a great many of the dwellings, and rents are low. Here, as elsewhere, the Hebrew community does all it can for the education of the children and the relief of the distressed.

No one can fail to perceive the bearing which the facts that I have given with respect to the position of the Jews in Roumania and their movement from the country have upon Dr. Herzl's warning to us in London—that we are not at the end but at the beginning of the Jewish immigration.

In the year 1900 there was a considerable inflow of Roumanian Jews into England. At all ports of the United Kingdom 3216 arrived. In 1901 the numbers fell to 1162. About the same number arrived in 1902. These figures apply to immigrants not stated to be *en route*. The more stringent legislation now enacted in America must tend to deflect the stream to this country.

I should add that the sentiments of the Roumanian people towards the Jews are not invariably those of their Government.

In 1891 M. Stourdza interpellated the ministry of the day on the alleged "invasion" of Roumania by Russian Jews. In the course of his reply on behalf of the Government, M. Manou said that he had been astounded to find, in certain districts which he had visited, a very friendly sentiment towards the Jewish race. "They are worthy folk," said the inhabitants, "and they have their trades. Have we

not need of tinmen and glaziers? Why not make use of these people? And close at hand is a factory which wants servants and workmen. Well, the Jews are apt at such work."

The Roumanian Government has not the excuse that a united nation compels them to persecute.

To sum up—the allegation that Roumania has "duped" Europe hardly requires proof; the fact is admitted. In a memoir which M. Boerescou presented, on behalf of his Government, to the cabinets of Europe *before* Roumanian independence was recognized, he promised categorically that :

(1) Such Jews as did not at once obtain naturalization should be, as they always had been, Roumanian subjects.

(2) They should have the right to buy real estate or lands in the towns, the right to be advocates, and to exercise any profession or calling freely; they should have the same personal status as Roumanians, and be protected in the same way by the laws and the authorities.

(3) Naturalized Jews should, of course, be in all respects on the same footing as other citizens.

Writing in the *Romanul*, then the official organ

of the Liberal party, on December 25, 1881, *after* the recognition of independence, M. C. A. Roseti, Minister of the Interior, said : " Happily the Roumanians may now congratulate themselves on having solved, in favour of the nation, the most burning and dangerous question, and that, we can now own, in a way contrary to the manifest will of the Powers and to the very spirit of the Treaty of Berlin."

There are not lacking in Roumania, however, statesmen who have spoken frankly and honestly about the Jewish question. In 1893, M. P. P. Carpe, then *Ministre des Domaines*, said in the course of a speech to the Roumanian Chamber : " And now, gentlemen, what ought we to do with the Jews? What can persecution do to-day? You do not naturalize them, you keep them out of politics, you force them to enter the army and pay the blood tax, but you give them no promotion. You see that you only leave them the callings which you cannot take away from them. Nevertheless, to-day, as ten years ago, you complain of being invaded by the Jewish element ; you say that our nation is in danger. For myself I think our nation will be in danger as long as *you* will not work like *they* do. That is the solution of the Jewish question."

CHAPTER XII

IN AMERICA

ON my return journey I studied the admirable machinery by which undesirable emigrants are sifted from among those *en route* to the United States at Hamburg. Before describing it, I must give a short account of the American legislation to which its existence is due.

The regulation of immigration by statute is no new thing in the United States. It originated as a natural consequence of the conditions which existed before the days of big steamers and rapid transit. A brief review of the history of the traffic will explain this statement.

In the eighteenth century the great majority of the immigrants were so poor that they could not pay their passage, and in order to meet the obligations incurred by them for passage-money and other advances, they were sold, after their arrival, into temporary servitude. Throughout the eighteenth century the prepayment of the passage was the exception, and its subsequent

discharge by compulsory labour the rule. The ship-owners and ship-merchants derived enormous profits from the sale of the bodies of the immigrants, as they charged very high rates for the passage, to which they added a heavy percentage—often more than a 100 per cent.—for their risks.

The immigrants suffered bitterly from this traffic in human flesh. Old people, widows, and cripples did not sell well, while healthy parents with robust children, and young people of both sexes, found a ready market. If the parents were too old to work, their children had to serve so much longer to make up the difference. When one or both parents died on the voyage their children had to serve for them. The expenses for the whole family were summed up and charged upon the survivor or survivors.

Adults had to serve from three to six years ; children from ten to fifteen years, till they became of age ; smaller children were, without charge, surrendered to masters, who had to rear and board them. As all servants signed indentures they were called "indented servants."

Whenever a vessel arrived at Philadelphia or New York its passengers were offered at public sale. The ship was the market-place, and

the servants were "knocked down to the highest bidder." The country people either came themselves or sent agents or friends to procure what they wanted, whether a girl, a "likely" boy, an old housekeeper, or a whole family. Instances are recorded of immigrants being treated worse than their purchasers' cattle, of them being driven to work with blows and kicks, so that the colonial authorities had to interfere. The better educated a man was the worse it was for him. Hard drinking and suicide were often the fate of victims of this kind.

Parents sold their children in order to remain free themselves. When a young man or a girl had an opportunity to get married a payment of five or six pounds had to be made to the master for each year of uncompleted service. Yet a steerage passenger never cost more than ten pounds.

Runaway servants had to serve one week for each day, one month for each week, and six months for each month, of absence. If the master did not wish to keep his servant he could sell him for the unexpired time of his term of servitude. The separation of whole families for ever was a daily occurrence. In short, the entire system was scandalous, and differed little from the "domestic institution" of slavery.

This mode of making the immigrant pay his passage was abandoned in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The last sales of passengers are reported in 1818 and 1819 in Philadelphia.*

It is not surprising to find that immigrants of so poor a class accumulated in the great towns, when an end was made of the custom of selling them.

In 1819 the managers of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in the City of New York reported in the following terms :

“Many of these foreigners may have found employment ; some may have [passed into the interior ; but thousands still remain among us. They are frequently found destitute in our streets ; they seek employment at our doors ; they are found in our almshouses and in our hospitals ; they are found at the bar of our criminal tribunals, in our Bridewell, our penitentiary, and our State prison. And we lament to say that they are too often led by want, by vice, and by habit to form a phalanx of plunder and depredations, rendering our city more liable to increase of crimes and our houses of correction more crowded with convicts and felons.”†

* Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labour Statistics of New York State. 1898.

† Special report of Dr. Kate H. Claghorn, *Ib.*

These conditions seem strangely to foreshadow the evils from which London and New York suffer at the present day.

It will readily be understood that the conditions under which these wretched people crossed the Atlantic, in small and slow craft, were always injurious and often fatal. Accounts of early voyages show that it was quite a matter of course for a ship to lose from 10 to 30 per cent. of her passengers by death from disease on the passage, and to land the remainder in a broken-down and enfeebled condition that unfitted them for some time, if not permanently, for active occupation on shore. *

After the first twenty years of the nineteenth century there was an improvement in the class from which the immigrants were drawn. But little change was made at first in the accommodation and arrangements for steerage passengers. As a consequence, sickness continued to play havoc among them.

The disease most common on these voyages was typhus, also called "gaol" or "ship" fever. It was due to the neglect by ship-masters of rudimentary sanitary requirements, and to their failure to provide for ventilation and cleanliness, and supply wholesome and sufficient food.

* Special report of Dr. Kate H. Claghorn, *Ib.*, p. 450.

Accordingly when immigration was heavy, typhus fever appeared on the voyage as a natural consequence. In the forties of the last century it was said that "scarcely a vessel has arrived with Irish emigrants without having the disease prevailing on board, and in some instances as many as forty or fifty have died on the vessel, and more than one hundred sick have been landed at quarantine from one vessel. Hundreds, too, who have passed the inspection of the health officers and been permitted to land, came up to the city having the seeds of disease already implanted, have sickened within from one to three weeks, and being frequently kept in town by their friends, contributed to spread the disease and infect the localities in which they sojourned." *

It was the danger of infection that first induced the American people to regulate immigration by law. An enormous majority of the steerage passengers landed at New York, and the New York State Legislature took the first step. An Act was passed in May 1847, which created a "Board of Commissioners of Emigration," and provided that the master of a ship carrying immigrants to the port of New York should report to the Mayor of the City the

* Annual Report of Interments. 1847.

name, birthplace, last legal residence, age, sex, and occupation of each immigrant ; whether any were lunatics, deaf, dumb, blind, infirm, maimed, or above sixty years of age, or under thirteen years of age.

Owners or consignees of ships were required to give a bond for each passenger, by which they were rendered liable to indemnify the Commissioners of Emigration, and any county, city, or town in the State from any cost which the Commissioners or localities should incur for the relief or support of the person named in the bond, within five years of its date ; such bond to be secured by at least two sureties in the sum of 300 dollars each.

It was lawful for the owner or consignee of a vessel at any time within twenty-four hours after the landing of all but prohibited passengers, to commute for the bonds so required by paying to the Health Commissioner of New York City one dollar for each passenger reported by him, and this was deemed a sufficient discharge from the requirement of giving bonds.

Fifty cents of the amount commuted was set aside as a separate fund for the benefit of each locality in the State except New York County, the balance to be used for general purposes by the Commissioners of Emigration.

The Commissioners and their agents were authorized to board vessels for the purpose of examining into the condition of immigrants and report to the Mayor those who were liable to become a public charge.*

The conditions of the immigration traffic at this time may be inferred from the inscription on a monument of rough granite in an old burying-ground near Montreal: "To preserve from desecration the remains of 6000 immigrants who died of ship fever, A.D. 1847-1848." †

Most extensive frauds were committed by the "forwarding houses," which undertook the business of sending immigrants to the West. During the early forties of the last century the only route was through the Erie Canal by way of Albany. The journey to Albany was made up the Hudson by steamer. The trip occupied about ten hours, and was the quickest part of the passage. Usually the immigrants bought their tickets in New York, with the understanding that they and their belongings were to be sent to their destination without further expense; but on their arrival at Albany the agent, on whom they had been directed to call, frequently repudiated

* Sixteenth Report, Bureau, pp. 971, 972.

† Safford, "Immigration as a Business,"

the authority of the person who sold the tickets. Even if these were accepted, the immigrants were forced to pay an exorbitant amount for the transportation of their baggage, and they were cheated in every particular. The accommodation for them on the large Hudson River steamboats was spacious enough, but they were crowded like sheep on the canal boats, and were often compelled to pay their passage over again, "failing in which demand they were thrown overboard by the captain of the packet."* Those were the days of melodrama in real life.

In 1853 Asiatic cholera broke out in immigrant vessels, and led to demands for United States legislation to remedy such causes as could "be traced to any state of things on shipboard, such as defective ventilation, bad or insufficient food, or too large a number of passengers crowded together."

With this object a measure was enacted in 1855. It provided for a limitation of the number of passengers carried by the tonnage of the vessel—one passenger being allowed for every two tons; it further provided for space, for ventilation, for stated supplies of food and water to passengers, for cleanliness, and for

* Bureau of Labour Statistics, Report, 1898.

inspection at the ports to see if all conditions were complied with.*

The act of 1855 proved effectual. By 1858 the sanitary condition of the immigrants had greatly improved, and in 1864 it could be said that the diseases engendered by "confined air, filthy habits, bad fare, and long voyages," which at one period filled the hospitals with the sick and dying, had been so reduced as no longer to be a source of serious apprehension.†

Further Federal legislation followed. In 1875 the importation of prostitutes was forbidden. Persons infringing the law were to be deemed guilty of a felony, and might be imprisoned for not more than five years, or sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding 5000 dollars. By the same enactment the following classes were prohibited from entry into the United States: "Persons undergoing a sentence for conviction in their own country of felonious crimes other than political or growing out of or the result of political offences, or whose sentence has been remitted on condition of their emigration," and women "imported for the purposes of prostitution."

Power was given to the Collector of the Port

* Report of Industrial Commission, p. 451.

† Report of Industrial Commission, 1901,

at which any vessel arrived to inspect it, if he had reason to believe that any such obnoxious person were on board. When the Collector demanded inspection, no alien was allowed to leave the ship till the inspection had been made and the result certified. If an immigrant raised an objection to the inspecting officer's decision, the vessel was to be detained till the matter was heard and determined.

In 1882 an important enactment was made.

By the first section the "Immigrant Fund" was created. A duty of 50 cents was to be paid "for each and every passenger not a citizen of the United States who shall come by steam or sail vessel from a foreign port to any port within the United States."

Section 2 assigned to the Secretary of the Treasury the duty of enforcing the Act. Provision was made for the boarding and inspection of vessels, and if there were found among the passengers "any convict, lunatic, idiot, or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge," the inspecting authority was to report and such person was not to land.

Section 4 provided for the deportation of foreign convicts "to the nations to which they belong," and threw the expense of the return

on "the owners of the vessel" in which the person to be deported came to America.

This legislation was followed by the Act of 1885, which prohibited the immigration of any alien who had, before landing in the United States, entered into a contract to "perform labour or service of any kind" there, and made it unlawful to assist or encourage such immigration.

Legislation of a much more stringent kind was adopted in 1891.

The Act of this date added to the classes already excluded all persons "likely to become a public charge, persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease, persons who have been convicted of a felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanour involving moral turpitude, polygamists, and also any person whose ticket is paid for with the money of another or who is assisted by others to come." Political offenders were exempted.

Section 4 forbade steamship and transportation companies and their agents to encourage or solicit immigration otherwise than by ordinary commercial letters, circulars, advertisements, or oral representations.

Under Section 6 any one bringing in or aiding in the importation of a prohibited alien

was to be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour and was made liable to a fine not exceeding 1000 dollars or to imprisonment for not more than a year, or to both fine and imprisonment.

Section 8 is of so much importance in the history of the control of immigration that it is necessary to quote portions of it *in extenso*. It provides :

“That upon the arrival by water at any place within the United States of any alien immigrants it shall be the duty of the commanding officer and the agents of the steam or sailing vessel by which they came to report the name, nationality, last residence, and destination of every such alien, before any of them are landed, to the proper inspection officers, who shall thereupon go or send competent assistants on board such vessel and there inspect all such aliens, or the inspection officers may order a temporary removal of such aliens for examination at a designated time and place, and then and there detain them until a thorough inspection is made. But such a removal shall not be considered a landing during the pendency of such examination. The medical examination shall be made by surgeons of the marine hospital service. In cases where the services of a marine hospital surgeon cannot be obtained without causing unreasonable delay, the inspector may cause an alien to be examined by a civil surgeon and the Secretary of the Treasury shall fix the compensation for such examination. The inspection officers and their assistants shall have power to administer oaths, and to take and consider testimony touching the right of such aliens to enter the United States. . . . All decisions made by the inspection officers or their assistants touching the right of any alien to land, when adverse to such right, shall be final unless appeal be taken to the Superintendent of Immigration, whose action shall be subject to review by the Secretary of the Treasury,

"It shall be the duty of the aforesaid officers and agents of such vessel to adopt due precautions to prevent the landing of any alien immigrant at any place or time other than that designated by the inspection officers, and any such officer or agent or person in charge of such vessel who shall, either knowingly or negligently, land or permit to land any alien immigrant at any place or time other than that designated by the inspection officers, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour and punished by a fine not exceeding 1000 dollars, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

Section 10 provided for the immediate deportation of excluded aliens in the vessel which brought them. Cost of maintenance on land, as well as the expense of the return journey, to be borne by the ship. Contumacy of master, agent, consignee, or owner was punishable by a fine of not less than 300 dollars for every offence, and constituted a misdemeanour. No vessel was to have clearance from any United States port till fines under this section were paid.

Under section 11 any alien who entered the United States unlawfully might be deported within a year at the expense of the persons who brought him ; alternatively, at the expense of the United States. Any alien who became a public charge within a year was to be deemed to have entered unlawfully.

The law was again strengthened in 1893.

Details were now given of the information to be required from immigrants. Section 1 provided that :

“In addition to conforming to all present requirements of law, upon the arrival of any alien immigrants by water at any port within the United States, it shall be the duty of the master or commanding officer of the vessel to deliver to the proper inspector of immigration lists or manifests made at the time and place of embarkation of such alien immigrants on board such vessel, which shall, in answer to questions at the top of such lists, state as to each immigrant the full name, age, and sex; whether married or single; the calling or occupation; whether able to read or write; the seaport for landing in the United States; whether having a through ticket; whether the immigrant has paid his own passage; whether in possession of money, and if so, whether upwards of thirty dollars, and how much if thirty dollars or less; whether going to join a relative, and if so, what relative, and his name and address; whether ever before in the United States, and if so, when and where; whether ever in prison or almshouse, or supported by charity; whether a polygamist; whether under contract to perform labour; and what is the immigrant's condition of health, mentally and physically, and whether deformed or crippled, and if so, from what cause.”

Section 2 provided that :

“The immigrants are to be listed in convenient groups, and that no one manifest is to contain more than thirty names. To each immigrant shall be given a ticket on which shall be written his name, a number or letter designating the list, and his number on the list, for convenience of identification on arrival. Each list or manifest shall be verified by the signature and the oath or affirmation of the master or commanding officer or of the officer first or second below him in command, taken before the United States consul or consular agent at the port of departure, before the sailing of the vessel, to the

effect that he has made a personal examination of each and all of the passengers named therein, and that he has caused the surgeon of the vessel sailing therewith to make a physical examination of each passenger, and that from his personal inspection and the report of the surgeon he believes that he has no immigrant of a prohibited class on board, and that the information in the manifest is true.

Section 3 provided that the ship's surgeon was also to sign the lists before the departure of the vessel, and to make oath or affirmation before the consul or consular agent stating his qualifications, and that he had made a personal examination of each passenger, and that the lists gave true information to the best of his knowledge and belief.

Section 7 enacted that :

“No bond or guaranty, written or oral, that an alien shall not become a public charge shall be received from any person, company, corporation, charitable or benevolent society or association, unless authority to receive the same shall in each special case be given by the superintendent of immigration, with the written approval of the Secretary of the Treasury.”

In 1895 the poll-tax was raised from 50 cents. to 1 dollar.

It is an instructive fact that the American enactments have become more and more stringent, though danger from the importation of disease has become less and less. The more recent legislation has been based upon

economic and social, not upon directly hygienic, considerations.

The measure which recently became law in the United States stiffened existing legislation in the following manner :

(1) The poll-tax was raised to 3 dollars.

(2) Epileptics, and " persons who have been insane within five years previous "; persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time previously ; and anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of all government or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials, were added to the excluded classes.

By section 10 it was provided that, if any company or other shipper transported a person having a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, and this disease might have been detected by a competent medical examination at the time of embarkation, the shipper became liable to a fine of 100 dollars for each person so transported.

Section 19 provided that an alien illicitly landed should be deemed to be unlawfully in the United States and should be deported.

Section 21 strengthened the law as to deportation ; threw one-half of the cost of the inland transportation of any expelled immi-

grant on the company which brought him, or, if this could not be done, on the immigrant fund ; extended to three years the time during which an alien might be deported ; and provided that the expense, during the two latter years, should be shared between the immigrant fund and "the corporation, municipality, or institution seeking relief from the burden of such alien," the former paying ocean transport, the latter meeting the cost of delivering the alien at the port of departure.

Section 22 extended to three years the time during which an alien, who had landed unlawfully, might be arrested for the purpose of deportation.

Section 26 provided for the prompt constitution of Special Boards of Inquiry to hear and determine the cases raised by detained immigrants. The Boards were normally to consist of three inspectors of immigration ; failing them, other United States officials were to be nominated by the Secretary of the Treasury. Complete records of the proceedings were to be kept, but the hearings were not to be public. An appeal lay to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Section 36 introduced a new and drastic regulation. It was thus worded :

"That the deportation of aliens, provided for in this Act, shall be to the trans-Atlantic or trans-Pacific ports from which said aliens embarked for the United States, or, if such embarkation was for foreign contiguous territory, to the foreign port at which said aliens embarked for such territory."

The latter part of this section was intended to stop the extensive immigrant-running business across the Canadian border. Strong complaint is made about this in America. The traffic has an odd similarity to that which proceeds along the Russian frontier.

As much as 80 dollars is paid to those who smuggle undesirable aliens into the States. Mr. Watchorn, the United States Special Immigrant Inspector stationed at Montreal, said in his evidence before the Senate Committee which lately inquired into the Immigration Question, that such persons get through "in waggons, buggies, row-boats, and every other conceivable form of transportation." There are experts whose business is this class of smuggling, and the same witness stated that five of the most skilful of them were in United States gaols at the time when he gave his evidence.

Under earlier legislation it was only possible to deport the undesirables, when captured, across the border; they then remained close at hand awaiting their next opportunity, or, in

some instances, made their way to Canadian ports and reached the States by water in small coasting-vessels, from which they could be put ashore with little risk.

The increasingly rigorous action of the American people cannot be readily understood unless two facts are borne in mind: (1) That a serious change has taken place of late years, not in the volume but in the character of immigration into the United States. (2) That recent immigration is found to have profoundly affected the industrial conditions of the country, and the continuance of it under present conditions is believed to threaten the standard of living of the American working classes.

Between 1840 and 1850 the Irish race contributed 46 per cent. of the total immigration into the United States. Their proportion has steadily diminished since that time. The Germans followed close upon the Irish, and reached their largest proportion in the quinquennial period 1880-1884 (inclusive). They furnished 30 per cent. of the total during that time, and numbered nearly a million.

But in the period 1895-1899 the figure declined to 125,000, and Germans only represented 9 per cent. of the immigration.

The proportion of Scandinavians reached its

highest point in the 1885-1889 period, when they formed 11 per cent. of the total; their numbers, also, have since diminished.

Thus the decade from 1880 to 1890 marks a turning-point in the character of American immigration. Up to that time it was mainly the inhabitants of Western Europe, including England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Germany, Sweden and Norway, who furnished nearly two-thirds of the immigrants. Since that time immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe has rapidly increased, and in the five-years period from 1895 to 1899 it supplied 54 per cent. of the immigration.

The total number of Hebrew immigrants who entered the United States between June 1901 and June 1902 was 57,688. 2538 Jews showed possession of 30 dollars or over; 19,901 were possessed of less than 30 dollars. In other words, for every Hebrew immigrant who had as much or more than £6 6s., there were nearly eight who did not muster that sum, and this reckoning takes no account of the women and children who had to be provided for by the males responsible for them. 37,846 Yiddish-speaking immigrants were natives of Russia, 12,848 of Austria - Hungary, 6589 of Roumania,

182 of Germany and 55 of the United Kingdom.

The percentage of illiteracy among Hebrews was found to be 16.8 per cent. Among Southern Italians it was as high as 48.2 per cent., among Scandinavians as low as .4 per cent.

The tendency of recent immigration is to crowd the towns. Of the Hebrew immigrants in 1901-1902, 90 per cent. went to the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. The destination of 39,520 was New York, of 5938 Pennsylvania, of 1870 Illinois, of 3570 Massachusetts, and of 1452 New Jersey. *

The evils which result from the herding of immigrants in towns are so strongly felt that the Commissioner-General writes :

“ Information has been compiled in the foregoing tables showing the States and Territories to which alien steerage arrivals during the past year were destined, their professional occupations, and the race or people of which they were members. Attention is again called to the fact, disclosed by these tables, that the newcomers congregate around or in the large urban settlements, a fact that suggests, as a means of averting the dangers of alien colonies

* Commissioner's Report, p. 19.

and facilitating the amalgamation with the people of this country of the steadily increasing stream of alien immigration, appropriate action, either State or Federal, for their distribution to points where their services can be best utilized, and they can most speedily learn the benign effects of industrious and law-observing life." *

The great working-class organizations in the United States declared emphatically in favour of more rigorous legislation when the Committee of the Senate was conducting its investigation.

General Shattuc, Chairman of the House of Representatives' Committee on Immigration, said: "With almost unanimous voice the labour interests of the country have asked from Congress legislation for further and more effective restriction of immigration." †

A letter from Mr. S. J. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, to the Hon. James E. Watson of Indiana was read both in the House of Representatives and before the Senate Committee. It contains the following passages: "The strength of this country is in the intelligence and prosperity of

* Annual Report of Commissioner-General of Immigration for year ending June 30, 1902, pp. 4 and 7.

† Evidence, p. 12.

our working people, but both the intelligence and the prosperity of our working people are endangered by the present immigration. Cheap labour, ignorant labour, takes our jobs and cuts our wages.

“The fittest survive ; that is, those that fit the conditions best. But it is the economically weak, not the economically strong, that fit the conditions of the labour market. They fit because they can be got to work cheapest. Women and children drive out men, unless either law or labour organization stop it. In just the same way the Chinamen and others drive out the American, the German, the Irishman.

“The Nashville Convention of the American Federation of Labour, by a vote of 1858 to 352, pronounced in favour of an educational test for immigrants. Such a measure would check immigration in a moderate degree, and those who would be kept out by it are those whose competition in the labour market is most injurious to American workers. No other measure which would have any important effect of this kind is seriously proposed.

“The need of regulation may be less sharply felt at the present time when there are less men out of work than there were a few years ago. But the flood of cheap labour is increas-

ing, and its effect at the slightest stagnation in industry or in any crisis will be fearful to the American workmen.

“A fall in wages, or a relative fall in wages, makes the workers unable to buy as large a share as before of the goods they produce. This hastens the time when over production or under consumption will show itself. That means hard times; and when hard times come the mass of immigrants that prosperity attracted will be here to increase the burden of unemployment.

“For these reasons the American Federation of Labour believes that the present opportunity ought not to be allowed to pass without the adoption of an effective measure for the protection of American labour.” *

Mr. Litchman, Representative of the Industrial Commission, gave the following evidence before the Committee: “I am heartily in favour of a restrictive educational test. . . . I know it has the indorsement of organized labour. I know it has the indorsement of the Knights of Labour in their General Assembly. American labour justly asks that its commanding position shall not be jeopardized by the importation of undesirable aliens unaccustomed to our

* Evidence, p. 15.



EMIGRANT DEPÔT, ELLIS ISLAND, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

standard of living, and therefore accepting, as most generous, wages far in advance of those received by them in the land they left, while much below what American labour received before their advent, and could easily maintain but for their unnecessary competition.”*

It is sometimes urged that restrictive legislation is ineffectual. Without discussing this question at length, I think it worth while to draw attention to the following brief statement in the Report of the Industrial Commission (1901): “The contract-labour laws were enacted between 1882 and 1891. The law of 1891 defined more strictly the persons to be excluded, and the Act of 1893 added a large number of ineligible, so that it is estimated as a result of this law that fully 50,000 persons were refused the sale of tickets within a year after it was passed.” Naturally, shippers will not book emigrants who are likely to be rejected at the port of arrival and deported at the vessel’s expense.

It may be argued that the volume of immigration into America is so much greater than into the United Kingdom that no trustworthy inference can be drawn from American experience. It would seem, however, that there is in

* Evidence, p. 28.

fact a close analogy between the condition of the clothing trade—into which aliens from Eastern Europe flock more than any other—in the United States and in England.

The Report of the Industrial Commission from which I have quoted above prefaces its remarks on this industry with the following observation: "It appears that the effect of immigration tends to cumulate upon the same industry where the other causes are in operation, and that the relative effect of immigration depends upon the rapidity of the influx, while a moderate amount of immigration would be assimilated. A rapid influx into particular trades by breaking down organization subjects working men to an unfair competition."

From an exhaustive account of the clothing trade in America, which is given in the report, I take the following details as being of special interest :

The immigration of tailors into the United States at the present time is mainly Hebrews, numbering 7031 and Italians numbering 1312. The manufacture of clothing is largely centred in New York City, and it is in this place that immigration plays its weightiest part. In lieu of the census of 1900, which, at the time of writing, has not yet presented the statistics for that year, it may be stated that, in the opinion of those best versed in the trade, fully one-half of the ready-made clothing in the United States is manufactured in New York City. In this way immigration in this trade holds a peculiarly

strategic position. Organizations of employees in other cities throughout the country are met continually with the threat that their demands for improved conditions will result simply in transferring the work to New York.

The characteristic feature of the clothing trade is the so-called sweating system. The mainstay of the sweating system is "the contractor." The contractor at the present time in New York and Chicago occupies the peculiar position of an organizer and employer of immigrants. The man best fitted to be a contractor is the man who is well acquainted with his neighbours, who is able to speak the languages of several classes of immigrants, and who can easily persuade them or their wives and children to work for him, and in this way can secure the cheapest help. So irregular is the business and unsteady the employment, that in the busy season, when the work doubles, it is to the advantage of the manufacturer to rely upon contractors who have this ability to increase the number of employees quickly and in proportion to the amount of work.

The ability to become a contracting employer depends also upon the small amount of capital invested. Probably 50 dollars, under the system of renting sewing-machines, is enough to enable an employee to become a contractor on his own account. He has no investment in goods and runs no risk. Little managing ability is required from him because the number of employees is small.

He locates in the midst of the districts occupied by immigrants, and contributes to their clannishness by making it possible for them to earn a living without mingling with other nationalities. There is always competition among contractors. The contractor feels more dependent than any of his employees. His profits are often less than the wages of his better paid workmen.*

It must not be inferred, however, that the contractor is the cause of the sweating system.

* P. 24.

As in London, both the contractor and the sweating system are the product of a disorganized and crowded labour market.*

New York and Chicago are the largest centres of the ready-made clothing trade. The industry in New York is practically in the hands of the Russian Jews, who have displaced the earlier Germans and Irish. One branch of the work, that of the finishing or hand-sewing on coats and trousers, has within the past ten years fallen into the hands of the Italian workmen, who work in tenement houses.†

Certain States of the Union enforce drastic legislation with regard to "home work," which is the essential condition of the sweating system.

As regards the administrative details of this legislation, it is noticeable that in those States most directly affected by immigration, namely, New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, the legislation has been most radical and even despotic. A register is required to be kept by the contractor or manufacturer of all home workers in his employment.

But the despotic feature appears in the provisions requiring a licence or permit in order to work at home. In the enforcement

* P. 25.

† P. 26.

of ordinary factory and workshop laws, the factory inspector is required to come into Court and prove the alleged violation of the law. The defendant enjoys the benefit of the doubt, and the inspector and prosecuting attorney are held to a strict interpretation of the statute. By the licence feature, however, the inspector is not dependent upon the courts ; his action is summary and decisive ; he grants or revokes the licence upon his own discretion and judgment, and the penalty thus imposed, since it deprives the workman of his entire living, is far heavier than the imposition of a fine by the Court.

The inspector under this provision of the law calls upon the Court not to punish the material violation of the law, but to punish the workman who works without a licence. Both the prosecution and the punishment of the offender are, therefore, practically in the hands of the administrative officer without recourse to the Court. There remains, indeed, the judicial remedy by mandamus or injunction, but in the case of the poverty-stricken workers of the tenement-house this is not substantial.

Massachusetts was the first State to introduce the licence as a part of its factory legislation. New York, where the home-work legislation

was introduced by President Roosevelt when Governor, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, and Michigan have followed the example of Massachusetts within the last two or three years.

In Pennsylvania the law goes much farther than in any other State, and requires a licence not only for tenement-house work, but for any "building or parts of building" where wearing apparel is manufactured, and in New York it applies to any building in the rear of a tenement building.* The importance of this latter provision will be understood by those who know how back-yards and back-gardens are being converted into workshops in the alien quarters of the East End.

The Jew occupies a unique position in the clothing trade. Normally his physical strength does not fit him for manual labour; his instincts lead him to speculation and trade; his individualism unsuits him for the life of a wage-earner and especially for the discipline of labour organization. For these reasons when a Jew first lands in America he enters such light occupations as sewing, cigar-making, and shoe-making.

Jewish women are employed to a much less

* P. 30.

extent than women of other nationalities, and their children are kept at school until fifteen or sixteen years of age.

The Jew's conception of a labour organization is that of a tradesman rather than that of a workman. Whenever a real abuse arises among the Jewish workmen they all come together to form a giant union, and at once engage in a strike. They bring in 95 per cent. of the trade. They hold out a long time, even under the greatest suffering. They usually win their cause, but when once a strike is settled they are contented, and that usually ends the union, since they do not see any practical use for organization when there is no cause to fight for ; consequently the membership of the Jewish unions is wholly uncertain.

The Jew is also exceedingly abstract and metaphysical and greatly interested in general principles ; for this reason the socialistic element acquires control, and the practical problems and serious conditions of the trade are neglected.*

From pp. 22 and 23 of the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration (June 1902), it appears that of the Hebrews who entered the United States during the period with which the report deals, 6110 described themselves as

* P. 26.

tailors, 1704 as seamstresses and dressmakers, 1285 as shoemakers, 808 as painters and glaziers, 517 as tinmen, 2246 as "merchant dealers or grocers," 5122 as personal and domestic servants, 2018 as carpenters and joiners, 5316 as labourers, 549 as clerks and accountants, and 279 as "professional" (actors, editors, engineers, lawyers, &c.). If the same classes come to this country, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they compete with our own people in many branches of industry.

In all that is made apparent by a review of American opinion on the immigration question, there is nothing more striking than the attitude of the American Jews themselves. They are not desirous of seeing the immigration of their co-religionists freed from restriction. "American Jews have always discouraged immigration of European Jews, and are in full accord with the laws to prevent the immigration of paupers and diseased persons and all who are unfitted to enjoy the franchise."*

This attitude of the Hebrew community in America makes it difficult to understand why certain Jewish people in this country appear to regard every advocate of restriction as an enemy of their race.

* Report of Industrial Commission, p. 15.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HAMBURG SYSTEM

I HAVE already said that efficient machinery has been set up at Hamburg for sifting out undesirable emigrants *en route* to America. This machinery was established and is maintained at great cost ; but none of the expense falls upon the American taxpayers. I closely inspected the system at Hamburg, and believe that very similar arrangements have been made at Bremen. The great majority of the Russian and Polish emigrants collect for embarkation at these two ports.

On arriving at Hamburg they are sent to the "Auswandererhallen," the depôt of the Hamburg-American Line. Its arrangements are elaborate and excellent, and there is accommodation for 2000 people. The emigrants are received in a waiting-hall ; their papers are examined ; they are separated according to sex and religion, and the unmarried girls are kept apart from the married women.

All then pass into the bath-rooms. The clothes of each individual are placed in a separate net, which has a number. A corresponding metal badge is given to every person, and this they hang round their necks. The nets are then placed in a revolving cylinder and subjected to a very high temperature. When the emigrants have finished their compulsory ablutions they receive their garments thoroughly disinfected.

The people are now told off to different wards, which are spotlessly clean, light, and well ventilated. They contain some twenty beds each. For the payment of a small sum the emigrants can obtain rooms prettily furnished and decorated with vases of flowers and so forth, which contain four beds. Three first-class meals are supplied daily. There are spacious dining-halls or restaurants in which the Jewish guests are separated from their Christian fellow travellers. Special kitchens and diet under Jewish supervision are, of course, provided. Two rolls of excellent bread are given to every person at each meal, and he is allowed to demand as many as ten. The superintendent told me that it was by no means uncommon for a single individual to consume the ten rolls.

In this restaurant an orchestra plays to the

emigrants twice a day. At each corner there is a canteen at which, if the people desire to supplement their diet, they can purchase every sort of delicacy at cost price. There are also shops within the establishment where clothes and all necessaries for travellers can be obtained at very low rates. There are two churches, one for Lutherans, one for Roman Catholics, and there is a synagogue for the Jews.

Every emigrant is inspected daily by the doctor, who marks off each examination on a card provided for the purpose. These cards have to be given up in exchange for the ship's ticket, and only those persons are allowed to embark whose doctor's certificates are satisfactorily filled in. A dance is given for the benefit of the inmates the evening before embarkation.

The depôt has been built by the Hamburg-American Line at a cost of £50,000, and the accommodation which it affords is included in the price of the ticket. These arrangements are the direct outcome of the American restrictive law ; and although when I visited the establishment there were but few emigrants in it owing to the Jewish holidays, I still found five or six out of a total of some twenty who did not satisfy the medical or other

requirements, and had not been allowed to sail. Under German law, an official—in reality a perfunctory—examination of passengers as well as of ships takes place. But it is clear that were it not for American legislation the costly arrangements I have described would not have been made by a commercial company. They would not have been needed, and would never have come into existence.

I desire most strongly to emphasize the point that if restrictive legislation were placed upon the Statute Book in this country all emigrants to England embarking at Hamburg would immediately come under similar control. Complete machinery, as I have shown, is in existence and in daily work. No expense would be thrown upon this country.

At present we deny ourselves the advantage of this invaluable safeguard against the importation of disease and the immigration of undesirables.

Over and above organized parties of emigrants reaching Hamburg, there are numbers who get there one by one, and find their way to England and elsewhere. Of these a certain proportion drift into the hands of the Jewish Joint Committee for homeless Jews and returning emigrants. This committee meets twice a

week in one of the houses of Old Hamburg. They have lodging-houses under their control in which they give accommodation to some of the wanderers who come to them for help.

The committee kindly invited me to attend one of their meetings, and I saw about twenty-five cases dealt with. Some had come from remote parts of Russia in the hope of being sent on to America or England. The first case was that of a woman from Kamnitz whose husband had deserted her two years previously. She had saved up enough money to get to Hamburg, and now begged to be sent on to America in order to find this man, whose address she did not know. There was a painful scene when she was told that there was nothing for her but to go all the way back to her home in Russia, and that she would have no chance of being allowed to land in America. Her bitter disappointment was pitiful to witness.

The next case was that of a respectable man who had already been four months in Philadelphia, had been in hospital for heart disease, and, as he was a person likely to become a public charge, had been sent back to Hamburg by the American authorities. He wished for help to reach his home, Bielostok in Russia, which was granted to him.

The third case was again that of a man who had been seven months in America and a year and a half in London. His story was that he had originally run away from Vitebsk in Russia to escape military service. He wished to get home again, and had worked his way from America on a cattle-ship *viâ* England.

Other cases dealt with were mere flotsam and jetsam drifting about, some desirous of obtaining work in Germany, many anxious to go to England, where they had heard, in a vague sort of way, that work was to be obtained. Some of them were perfectly unintelligible, and not one had any regular trade or employment.

There were only two cases in which there was any colourable ground for supposing that the applicants had any definite work to take up in England. These were kept back for further inquiry, and all were warned as to the true position of affairs in London—the overcrowded state of the labour market, the difficulty of obtaining house accommodation, and so forth.

If all the emigrants desirous of going to England could be passed through similar committees, the inflow of the undesirable and useless would doubtless be very largely checked.

The Hamburg Committee has to deal not only with people desirous of emigrating, but

also with those who have emigrated and come back, viz., those returning from Argentina and America, and those sent by the Jewish Boards of Guardians in Hull and in Manchester. These Boards repatriate a number of people, but only pay for them as far as Hamburg, and leave to the Jewish community there the responsibility and burden of sending them to their destinations. With this object admirable arrangements have been made by Mr. Lasker, the expense of the journeys being shared by the large Jewish communities through which the returning emigrant has to pass. Thus a ticket is given as far as Berlin by the Hamburg Committee; there it is stamped, and the traveller sent on to Breslau or one of the committees at the frontier stations, and from the frontier the people are sent home.

This is done with difficulty, as returning emigrants seldom have passports, and in the case of Roumania the permit delivered to them on leaving the country contains a provision that they are never to return.

The returning emigrants sent by the Jewish Board of Guardians from London have recently been provided with passports. These people are consigned to Mr. Samson, whom I saw. A manifest is sent to him of each consignment, and

against the names the sum of money to be paid to each for travelling expenses is entered. They come at the rate of about thirty a week, are placed in lodging-houses, and thence sent to their destinations.

Mr. Samson told me that not one in ten of these people can read or write. The work of dealing with them is difficult and unpleasant. Mr. Samson is often abused for his trouble, and clamorous demands for more money are frequently made. In the year 1901 Mr. Samson disbursed 48,500 marks in helping these people onwards. To this must be added the cost of their ticket from London to Hamburg, as well as the amount previously spent on the journey from their homes to England.

It is painful to think of the waste of money and energy caused by this fruitless travelling, and Mr. Samson was of opinion that a law in England which would prevent such people from starting or being allowed to land if they did start would be an immense benefit. The large sums squandered in this way might be spent with far greater advantage upon the better education and housing of the Jewish poor in the countries whence they come. No reasonable person, looking at this question either from the Jewish or the English point



EMIGRANTS AT THE DEPÔT, HAMBURG



THE CHURCH IN EMIGRANT DEPÔT, HAMBURG

of view, can doubt that it would be a benefit if this futile and pitiful movement were stopped.

With regard to sanitary control, it is quite true that emigrants who leave Russia by way of Eydtkühnen are medically inspected at the frontier. It is easy to judge how many are likely to travel to England by this route if one considers the procedure which must be followed by Russians who apply for passports enabling them to leave the country

The law requires every one to obtain permission before quitting Russia. This is by no means a simple formality. We will suppose the applicant to be living in Lodz in Poland. In the first place he must go to the magistrate or burgomaster of the town and obtain a "legitimation" proving that he is the person he represents himself to be, and that his domicile is correctly stated. This is supposed to be given gratis, but in practice it costs a shilling or two.

The next step is to take this certificate to the head of the police, with whom it remains three or four days at least, while inquiries are being made from the secret police as to the applicant's character. If these inquiries are satisfactory, the head of the police endorses the certificate to

the effect that from his point of view there is no objection to the person leaving the country.

The applicant has next to go to the Reichskasse (Revenue Department), where he pays the fees for his passport and obtains a receipt. These fees used to vary from 10 roubles to 20 roubles, but owing to new taxes for the war in China they were raised to 15 to 25 roubles, and have not since been reduced.

Having obtained the documents mentioned, the applicant has to take or send them all to the nearest provincial governor, in the case of Lodz to the town of Petrikov about fifty miles away, with a prayer asking permission to leave the country, and this petition must bear two stamps of one rouble each. If the applicant goes personally, is acquainted with some of the officials in the governor's office and spends a few roubles, he may get his papers through in a day, but if they are sent by post they may be delayed for two or three months. If the business is transacted by post, the passport is sent back to the head of the police circle in which the applicant resides. This official delivers it to him. All the other documents are retained by the police.

The permission thus granted is only valid

for three weeks, and if not used within that period the whole process must be repeated and the money expended again. If the applicant is a reservist, he must in addition report himself to the military administration and notify his intention there.

The above complicated procedure has created a calling—that of the passport broker or agent, who for a fee undertakes the whole business—but in whatever way it is done, from first to last the expense is not less than thirty roubles—say £3.

The alternative for the outgoing traveller is to get himself smuggled across the frontier. This method of quitting the country costs only half as much as the other, unless the individual is under great pressure. It is evident that the obstacles placed in the way of persons crossing by regular means must induce an enormous number to evade them. For instance, a man liable to military service and desirous of escaping it could never get through the net. And this class and all those who will not or cannot obtain their passports in regular form are smuggled over the frontier. Numbers of them go from Calisch, to which place the railway has not yet penetrated.

The business is conducted in the following

way : The people inhabiting the villages and towns on the frontier are entitled to what is known as a *halb pass* (*polupasek*) free of expense. When an emigrant reaches the frontier, one will be handed to him for a consideration, and will enable him to get across. The pass is then sent back and used again. Failing this, means can always be found to smuggle people over the frontier at one point or another. Of the thousands who reach Hamburg and the other German and Dutch ports from Russia and Poland, not 10 per cent. are in possession of passports.

The people who get over the frontier in this way are not detained by the German authorities, provided they have enough money to continue their journey to the coast. If a man had no means he might be sent back, but not otherwise. From all I can learn the German officials do not treat these individual cases on the same basis as batches of emigrants crossing the frontier in the ordinary way. These latter, as I have shown, are required to be in possession of 300 marks per adult, and 150 marks for every child under twelve. But no such demands are, apparently, made in the case of persons smuggled over the border.

It is by this means that all persons abscond-

ing from justice, deserters from the army, &c., escape, and it is clear that the undesirables and criminals of whom we hear so much complaint in London come chiefly by this route.

CHAPTER XIV

FACTS AND FIGURES

WHAT is the magnitude of the problem? How many aliens are there in the country?

It is natural to look to the Census Returns for an answer. And if we wish to know at what rate the inflow of foreign settlers proceeds, the obvious course is to consult the reports which are furnished annually by the Board of Trade. Neither of these sources of information is trustworthy.

The Committee of the House of Commons which inquired into the question of alien immigration and reported in 1889, declared that: "It is impossible to state with accuracy the number of aliens at present in the United Kingdom. There are no means, as in America and nearly all continental countries, for checking the number of immigrants that arrive with the intention of settling here."

The Royal Commission whose investigation

of the same subject recently ended makes the following comment :

“ From the Census Returns we should learn the number of aliens resident in the different localities of the United Kingdom at the time of taking each Census, and thus be able to ascertain the increase or decrease of the alien population between the different periods of Census-taking. Of course, the Census Returns include every foreigner found in this country at the date of the Census who may be a traveller or visitor, and so not coming within the term ‘ Alien Immigrant ’ as used in this Report. But in respect of these Returns it is asserted that they are defective, and do not show the full number of aliens in the country. The alleged causes for these defective Returns are (1) that the Census officers are not sufficiently careful in the discharge of their duties ; (2) that the aliens do not understand the forms to be filled in ; (3) that they prefer to be considered native born, and therefore wilfully misrepresent their nationalities.

“ We had a considerable amount of evidence bearing upon these allegations brought before us, and the conclusion we have arrived at is, that positive accuracy is not to be found in Census Returns, and that some addition—an uncertain quantity—should be made to the

number of resident aliens given in those Returns. It was, however, established before us that great and unusual care was taken in securing the Returns of Metropolitan Jewish Aliens in 1901. The Census enumerators received special instructions, and carefully acted upon them. A circular in Yiddish and English was prepared by the Chief Rabbi and issued in the name of the Jewish Board of Guardians, on the back of which was a translation of the Census paper into Yiddish. This was circulated by the Census Office throughout the Jewish quarters of London. A second supplemental circular, giving directions, was also issued by the Jewish Board of Deputies.

"In addition to these precautions, the Chief Rabbi, with the sanction of the Census Office, formed a committee of ladies and gentlemen. A map of the foreign Jewish quarter was divided into minute squares, and each square was given to one of the committee, who visited every house in such square, and assistance in filling in the Census papers in English was given in all cases where it was required. Notwithstanding these precautions, we see no reason to differ from the opinion expressed by Mr. Reginald McLeod, who, as Registrar-General at the head of the Census Department, said

that the 'Census Returns do not supply perfect accuracy.'

"It is also deserving of remark that children born of alien parents in this country are ranked according to their legal status as native born.

"In relation to the other source of information mentioned above, it seems to be established that the Returns made under the 6 William IV. do not afford any accurate information as to the number of alien immigrants arriving in this country.

"Further, a distinction is made in the figures of the Board of Trade between those immigrants described as *en route* to places out of the United Kingdom and those not so described. This distinction comes from the circumstance that, soon after the revival of the Alien Act above referred to, an arrangement was made between the Board of Trade and the shipping companies whose business it was to carry large numbers of transmigrants holding through tickets for America through the Humber and north-eastern ports, that in the case of such passengers the total number only should be given, and the further particulars specified by the Act should not be required. The total number of persons returned under this agreement appears in the Board of Trade figures as

aliens described as *en route* to other countries. All other aliens, whether arriving at the ports to which the arrangement refers or elsewhere, are classed as aliens not described as *en route*; whether, in fact, they are *en route* or not is not ascertained. All that is meant is, that they are not persons bearing through tickets and passing through one of the ports to which the arrangement applies. For instance, all alien immigrants arriving in London are classed as "not described to be *en route*." Mr. Somper, the Superintendent of the Jewish Shelter, stated that out of 26,796 immigrants who arrived in London in the year ending October 31, 1902, not stated to be *en route*, he believed from 10,000 to 11,000 passed on to America and elsewhere. Mr. Llewellyn Smith also stated that in the year 1902, 7964 alien immigrants, not returned as being *en route*, were traced outwards.

"Accepting for the purposes of this report that an 'alien immigrant' is one who comes to this country with the object of residing here, it is apparent that deductions must be made from the numbers returned as alien immigrants under the 6 William IV., cap. xi., under the following heads :

“(a) Foreign sailors who arrive here for the purpose of serving on board our mercantile ships.

“(b) Persons who are travelling on business or pleasure, and do not intend to stay in this country.

“(c) Persons who are emigrated and repatriated shortly after their arrival by charitable agencies.

“(d) Persons who are *en route*, although not stated to be so.

“It therefore appears that the number of persons shown in these Returns as being alien immigrants, in the sense above mentioned, is of but little value as a guide to the number of aliens remaining in this country.

“It follows that we have no accurate guide as to the number of alien immigrants in this country, and that the nearest approach to such information is to be found in the Census Return.”

The data used in compiling the statistics of the Board of Trade are open to obvious criticism. The enumeration of the passengers travelling between the United Kingdom and Continental ports is “voluntarily furnished to the Board of Trade by the principal English passenger shipping companies, English railway companies carrying passengers to and from the Continent, the Belgian Government, and some foreign shipping companies having agencies in this country.” The enumeration, therefore, is not complete, and, though the figures thus

obtained are tabulated in the Board of Trade's Statistical Tables, and are frequently used in drawing inferences as to the extent of alien immigration, the methods adopted by shipping companies for collecting them are not subject to the control of the Board of Trade. In a case in which the Secretary of the Commission made inquiry as to the system employed for obtaining the figures, it was found that they were supplied by the stewards of the steamships. These were short-passage boats, and the stewards are little likely to have leisure during the voyages for the collection of accurate statistics. The boats in question sail under a foreign flag, and there is a touch of humour in the position of an alien functionary who gathers information for the British Government in the intervals when he is not fetching drinks or basins for the passengers whom he has to classify.

The most serious omission as regards the Census figures, at least in the case of Russian and Polish immigrants, is that of the children born of foreign parents in this country. The Hebrew race is exceptionally prolific, and the importance of the point is shown so clearly by the result of an official inquiry to which I have already alluded that it seems worth while to

give the details. In a certain test district in St. George's-in-the-East, an attempt was made by the Census officials to discover the number of such children who were to be found there. One thousand and thirty-eight schedules signed by aliens were taken. Of the persons entered in these schedules 3647 had been born abroad and 1828 were children born in this country of foreign parents. Of these 1590 were under, and 238 were over, fifteen years of age. It appeared, therefore, that if these children had been enumerated as a part of the foreign population the proportion of aliens in the test district would have been higher by one half than it was shown to be by the Census.

In considering the effect of the local incidence of alien immigration, it is plain that this source of increment of the population must not be left out of account. It is one of the most important factors in all the difficulties connected with the housing problem and the repression of overcrowding. The Census of 1881 showed that there were in Stepney 15,998 persons born in foreign countries. In 1901 there were, on the lowest computation, 54,310 aliens in Stepney. In 1881 there were in Bethnal Green 925 foreigners. In 1901 there were in the same district 4634 aliens. If we allow for children

of foreign parentage in the proportion already mentioned, the figures are, approximately, for Bethnal Green 6951 and for Stepney 81,465.

A large percentage of these immigrants are useful settlers, industrious, thrifty, and sober, and they have taken their full share in the recent development of certain important industries in the East End and elsewhere. I wish to make it perfectly clear that I direct no hostile criticism against the Jews as a people. The very qualities which have kept them distinct are excellent, and I yield to no one in regard for the admirable filial and parental sentiments and the respect for home life which are characteristic of so many of them. But they are, necessarily, a race apart.

And the evil conditions which must result from the rapid inflow of a population accustomed to ignore sanitary requirements and to overcrowd are aggravated by the abiding separatism of the immigrants. They cannot merge in the surrounding population. Even class sympathies do not break through the line of segregation. The Hebrew people, unlike any other race, are bound to their nationality by common descent from the same two ancestors, by uniformity of religion, and by centuries of resistance to the processes of absorption. They may

be, and for the most part are, good citizens of the land of their adoption. But by pride in their traditions, their ideals, and the mission of their race, they are Jews before all things : their first loyalty is to Israel. There are exceptions, due to the disintegrating influences of their surroundings, but they are few. The Jews are in reality a nation without a territory—the fact cannot be ignored. Its consequences are permanent and invariable.

There is a sentiment of difference alike in the Hebrew and the Gentile in whose land he dwells. And this sentiment gives rise, in a proportion of the people on both sides, to disregard of each other's welfare and to actual hostility. Where-soever the Jews are congregated in numbers two types make their appearance and become prominent—the parasitical and the predatory types. And these bring unmerited obloquy on the whole race. A Jewish nation on Jewish territory could deal effectively with its own bad products. The moral obligation, the religious precept, that Hebrew should not exploit Hebrew, would strengthen the hands of the administrators. But how can the Jewish usurer and swindler be made to feel that he is under an equal obligation to refrain from exploiting the *Goyim*, the strangers, the descendants of those

who persecuted his forefathers? The separatism implies the adoption, among the lower types of Jew and Gentile alike, of two codes of ethics—one applicable to co-religionists and fellow countrymen, the other to those who do not share the bond. And the natural evolution of a bad principle too often brings it about that the worse code is soon applied all round.

The terms of the reference of the Royal Commission precluded inquiry into the history of the Jews on the Continent and in recent years in America. But the true lesson must be learned from that. It is a fact that the settlement of large aggregations of Hebrews in a Christian land has never been successful. This result may be in great part attributed to religious bigotry and to persecution. But I have shown that in Austria to-day the Jews suffer from no disability. Their community is wealthy, and all classes are represented. Yet there are crowded ghettos, and there is chronic poverty, and there is racial animosity. The Jewish question has not been solved by the liberation of the Hebrew people from oppression.

And if it be argued that even in Austria there is anti-Semitic feeling due to religious fanaticism, it must at least be admitted that this condition does not obtain in America. Yet



here we find the ghetto and all its evils re-established.

The following extracts are taken from the twenty-seventh Annual Report of the United Hebrew Charities (dated October 1901): "No matter how earnestly we labour to care for the Jewish poor, already in our city, our burdens are being constantly increased by the thousands who come from Europe every year to settle in our midst. It is worth noting in passing, that, comparatively speaking, few of these newly arrived immigrants come to us for assistance until after they have been in New York for a year or two. Either they have sufficient means of their own to bring them to America and to support them for a period after arrival, or they have been sent for by relatives who are able to give them assistance for some time. But the evil conditions of the houses, and the deteriorating influences of the sweat-shops of the great ghetto, soon work havoc among these people, and after an interval of two or three years they come to us in numbers for relief.

"Furthermore, in line with our belief that the ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, and that as law-abiding citizens of our country we should not run against public sentiment nor

pose as violators of the law, we have come to an understanding with the London Board of Guardians whereby the unwise shipment of Jewish immigrants who are not adapted to conditions of life in this country will be stopped. Hitherto we have had to bear the burden which should properly have been borne by our British co-religionists. They were perfectly willing to furnish free transportation to those persons who were unable to make a living in England, but who believed if they could only reach the shores of America (which means New York to all Jewish immigrants) their troubles would be at an end." . . .

This, of course, amounts to an agreement to relegate all indigent and wandering Jews who cannot, or will not, stop on the Continent to a permanent domicile in the United Kingdom. It may be added that the United States special immigrant inspector at Montreal was told by a member of the Baron de Hirsch Society that they "had sent word to Europe not to send them (destitute Jews) this way. The Roumanian Jews who came over two years ago, many of them, are still in Canada, a burden on that Society ; and only at their last meeting as many as ninety-two destitute Jews, who have been destitute since the 1st of January in Montreal,

were at that meeting of the Society to receive their alms and support, being unable to care for themselves."

The following is a further extract from the twenty-seventh Report of the United Hebrew Charities: "A condition of chronic poverty is developing in the Jewish community of New York that is appalling in its immensity. Forty-five per cent of our applicants, representing between 20,000 and 25,000 human beings, have been in the United States over five years; have been given the opportunities for economic and industrial improvement which this country affords; yet, notwithstanding all this, have not managed to reach a position of economic independence. Two thousand five hundred and eighty-five of the new applicants, representing 7 per cent. of the Jewish immigrants to the United States during the year, found it necessary to apply at the office of the United Hebrew Charities within a short time after arrival. It must be remembered, furthermore, that the United Hebrew Charities does not represent the entire Jewish poverty and dependence that exists in New York City. Frequently our relief bureau is the place to which the applicant comes only after exhausting every other possible means of securing exist-

ence. When the numerous small relief societies, chevras, lodges, benefit societies, synagogues, individuals, and others can no longer contribute, then, and then only, in many cases is the co-operation of the United Hebrew Charities sought. If, beside the 50,000 people who applied at the United Hebrew Charities, we were to include in the dependent classes all who needed the services of dispensaries, hospitals, asylums, and institutions of all kinds, or who were assisted by charitable effort other than that given by us, the statement can safely be made that during the year from 75,000 to 100,000 members of the New York Jewish community are unable to supply themselves with the immediate necessities of life."

In the Report of the same Society for 1898 the following passage occurs: "Those who are familiar with the crowded section on the lower east side know that vices are beginning to spring up which heretofore have been strangers to the Jewish people." In the Report for 1901 this observation is confirmed and made more explicit: "The horrible congestion in which so many of our co-religionists live, the squalor and filth, the lack of air and sunlight, the absence, frequently, of even the most common

decencies, are too well known to require repetition at this writing. Even more pronounced are the results accruing from these conditions ; the vice and crime, the irreligiousness, lack of self-restraint, indifference to social conventions, indulgence in the most degraded and perverted appetites, are growing daily more pronounced and more offensive."

This, the testimony of the leaders of the Jewish community in New York, is not given with any bias against the Hebrew race. It is the result of experience on a far larger scale than that which we have had in England.

And these deplorable results are, in my judgment, due to what may be termed the ghetto habit, which, as I have shown, impels and tempts Jewish immigrants to congregate in crowded quarters of populous cities in England as in America. It is from this habit that all the dangers and evils of their advent spring. If they were scattered and, as it were, sprinkled among the 40,000,000 of people in England few would take heed of their presence. But they are massed together in the most densely populated centres of the most crowded towns, and their presence not only compels attention but is passionately resented. The

displacement of the original population would alone account for this.

Measures tending to dissemination, which the Royal Commission has recommended, are steps taken in the interests of the Hebrew community, and Jewish opinion recognizes this fact. The following quotation is taken from the *Jewish Chronicle* of July 17.

“When the pioneers have gone forth from the ghetto others will follow them. As is usual with Jewish emigrants family will attract family, and so the movement, once started, will be hurried along by its own momentum. The whole brunt of the work, however, should not be left to a single organization or a single philanthropist. It is of vital interest to the whole community to end a congestion which is a standing menace to its present and future.”

CHAPTER XV

OTHER ALIENS

HITHERTO I have spoken almost exclusively of alien immigrants from Eastern Europe. But it is obvious that this country receives newcomers from every nation. Many of them are merchants, representatives of foreign commercial houses and skilled craftsmen. No sane person proposes to impede the movement of these classes into the country, or hamper them in the exercise of their callings.

Indeed, they represent at the present day that historical immigration to which the Royal Commission refers in the opening pages of its Report as having been of such great value to the country.

But, concurrently with this immigration, there proceeds a systematic incursion of criminal and vicious persons for purposes of criminality and vice. It is an immigration of very serious proportions; and it must not for one moment be supposed that the arrivals are casual fugitives

from justice or mere wandering outcasts. The French expert in vice; the German expert in crime; the pupil in both; the "waiter" or "man-servant" who is a burglar, robber, or "front-door thief"; the man who makes fraudulent bankruptcy a practice—these people come to England as to a "happy hunting-ground." They intend to prey on the community which hitherto has foolishly received them without inquiry, and has suffered severely from the gross abuse of its hospitality.

The facts with regard to this inroad of foreign criminals scarcely require comment. They are expressive in themselves.

In the County and City of London the proportion of aliens to the total population is 2.98 per cent.

Sir Alfred Newton, Lord Mayor of London in 1899, and a Commissioner of the Central Criminal Court, gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. He said that 15 per cent. of the persons charged before him were "certainly foreigners."

The Chairman of the County of London Sessions (Mr. W. R. McConnell, K.C.), whose jurisdiction extends over the whole county of London, said, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, that apparently there were "organ-

ized colonies of foreign crime " in London. He showed that the percentage of aliens tried in his court, north of the Thames, had risen from 7 per cent. in 1892, to 11 per cent. in 1900, to 22 per cent. at the October Sessions, 1902, and to 25 per cent. at the first Sessions held in 1903. At the succeeding Sessions on June 10, 1903, "the grand jury commented on the number of foreigners figuring in the calendar, and strongly urged that steps should be taken to stop the influx of alien undesirables into the country. Mr. McConnell, K.C., the chairman, replied that the matter was being considered by the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, and he himself had given evidence before that body. He added that on Tuesday English was hardly heard in that court, and that about 20 per cent. of the prisoners charged in the present calendar were foreigners." (*Daily Chronicle*, June 11, 1903.)

The foreign population south of the river is, relatively, very small. It contributes 1.66 per cent. to the criminal cases of the district.

The following is an extract from the evidence given by Mr. John Dickinson, magistrate of the Thames Police Court, before the Royal Commission :

Q. "I want, if I can, to learn from you

whether you can trace the reason of the inroad of professional criminals. I want to know whether they have come over in any way in order to work, or whether it is really a criminal inducement which brings them?"—A. "I had A. G.'s case before me a few days ago for picking a woman's pocket. He had been only a short time in this country, and there were found on him some letters from persons in prison in France, in which they declared their intention of joining him as soon as they were released."

Q. "Has there been a change of late years in the class of foreign criminals coming before you?"—A. "There has."

Q. "And you can notice a sort of invasion of professional criminals?"—A. "Yes. I had before me in the winter of 1901 a gang of twelve Germans. Eight of them were charged with burglary and four with receiving. They were all taken to the Central Criminal Court, tried there, and convicted there. It was proved that these men were skilled burglars who had simply come into this country. One of them said himself, 'I can prove I have only been three months in this country.' He was one of the most skilled of the burglars."

Mr. Justice Darling at the Old Bailey, in

sentencing the last batch of the nine bank-note forgers, of whom the suicide Barmarsh was the most notorious, said: "I do not think there is another country in the world to which undesirable foreigners like you would be allowed to come in enormous numbers, and to exist, doing little or no work, but preying on the country which has given you refuge. It is not for me to suggest legislation, but it is certain, as a result of this trial and other matters, that public attention will be directed to this subject and to the question whether it is desirable that, without hindrance of any kind and without inquiry of any sort, people like you should be able to settle peacefully in the East End of London when you have made it too hot on the Continent for you to remain abroad."

The Recorder at the Old Bailey, on February 9, 1903, said: "This court is occupied for days each Session in trying these disreputable foreigners, whom, nevertheless, we receive with open arms in a manner which would be possible in no other country in the world."

Mr. Loveland-Loveland, K.C., in sentencing a foreigner at the Clerkenwell Sessions on January 8, 1903, said: "The case fully illustrates how desirable and necessary it is to check the unwelcome invasion of alien criminals. At

present the dregs of foreign countries flow incessantly into hospitable England, and within a few days are engaged in committing all sorts of offences. The sooner Parliament frames laws to prohibit the landing of these undesirables the better."

Mr. McConnell, K.C., on February 19, 1903, in sentencing two foreign Jews at the County of London Sessions, said: "This is another of those cases in which undesirable foreigners land here without a trade and without money, and with the express intention of living by plunder."

The Lord Mayor of London (Sir Marcus Samuel) in sentencing a newly arrived German swindler to fourteen days' imprisonment on January 9, 1903, said: "This is just one of those cases in which an Alien Immigration Act would be extremely beneficial."

Major E. G. Clayton, formerly Governor of Lewes and Wormwood Scrubbs Prisons, and now Secretary of the Prisons Commission, showed, in the course of his evidence before the Royal Commission, that the number of aliens sent to prison during the period of five years ending March 31, 1903, was 13,114. Of these persons 1337 had been once previously convicted, 525 had been twice previously convicted, 285 had been previously convicted three

times, 215 four times, 162 five times, 484 from six to ten times, 203 from eleven to twenty times, and 123 above twenty times.

The number of foreign prisoners in the year ending March 31, 1899, was 2181; the figure had risen to 3449 in the year ending March 31, 1903.

The percentages of increase of crime during the same period were: among Russians and Poles 117 per cent., among Austrians 86 per cent., among Spaniards 85 per cent., among Norwegians and Danes 78 per cent., among Germans 67 per cent., among French 58 per cent., among Italians 45 per cent., among Belgians 44 per cent., among Swiss 40 per cent., among Americans 25 per cent.

The subjoined list gives the percentage of aliens sentenced to penal servitude to the total number of persons so sentenced during the years 1899, 1900, 1901, and 1902.

TOTAL NO. SENTENCED.				ALIENS.		PERCENTAGE.	
1899	.	.	730	.	.	47	6.5
1900	.	.	777	.	.	28	3.6
1901	.	.	785	.	.	32	4
1902	.	.	978	.	.	68	7

The cost of maintaining alien criminals is a serious burden on the community. In the House of Commons on March 18, 1903, in

reply to Mr. Powell Williams, Mr. Akers Douglas said : " The number of aliens who were in prison on the 2nd inst., when a census was taken, is, so far as can be ascertained, 625. They form about 3 per cent. of the prison population,* and the total cost of carrying out their sentences is roughly estimated at £30,000."

Mr. Powell Williams : " Is there any power to restore these persons to their native country on the expiration of their sentences? "

Mr. Akers Douglas : " No, sir ; I have no statutory powers." (*Times*, March 19, 1903.)

The part which aliens take in vicious traffic in this country is thus referred to in the Report of the Royal Commission :

" As regards prostitution, the evidence shows that in certain parts of London there are a large number of foreign prostitutes. In the police returns given for the C Division, where there are the greatest number of foreign women of this class, the numbers of charges against prostitutes in 1892 were 256 against British subjects and 150 against foreigners; in 1902 these figures were 350 and 347 respectively. In the H or Whitechapel Division the number of similar charges in 1892

* The percentage of alien population to the total population of England and Wales is 0.76.

were 331 against British subjects and 13 against foreigners; in 1901, 220 against British subjects and 52 against foreigners. With regard to these figures, however, it must be borne in mind that prostitution by itself is no offence, unless it is accompanied by solicitation or disorderly conduct, and that the evidence is to the effect that the foreign prostitute is generally far more sober than the English."

These are mild expressions. It was established before the Commissioners that the proportion of aliens who live by vice is inordinately high, and that from one-half to two-thirds of this traffic in London is conducted by foreigners, though, as I have already said, the percentage of aliens to the whole population of the capital is only 2.98. It was also shown that the foreign prostitutes are generally more depraved than the native women of the same class, and that their corruption takes the most deleterious forms. It is they who practise and perpetuate those extravagances of vice which, but for them, would hardly be known in this country except to readers of Horace and Catullus.

Important as the subject is, it is one which cannot be treated in detail in a book intended for general circulation. Those who are incredulous as to the magnitude of the evil should refer

to the pamphlet on "Aliens and Vice," which is published by the Immigration Reform Association of 31 Essex Street, Strand.

There is one other point on which a word must be said. I have already referred to the admirable domestic qualities so often to be found among the Hebrew immigrants. But I cannot admit that, considered *en masse*, they show a higher morality than the native population which they have displaced. It is often alleged that the East End as a whole has been improved by their coming. But Inspector Hyder, with six and a half years' experience of the H Division, which includes the area that has received the greatest inflow of foreigners, gave the following evidence before the Royal Commission. It concerns the effect of the change of population in the district.

Q. "Has prostitution increased or not?"—

A. "The foreign prostitutes have. I cannot say that prostitution as a whole has. The foreign prostitute, practically, in my neighbourhood has driven the others away."

Q. "Numerically, do you think there are more or less prostitutes than there were before, or the same about?"—A. "I should say about the same."

And the following passage occurs in the evi-

dence of Mr. John Dickinson, who has had thirteen years' experience as a magistrate at the Thames Police Court. The subject of inquiry was the result of alien immigration as concerns the moral condition of the region which receives it.

Q. "You say that street-walking and immorality in the East End are greatly increasing?"—A. "Undoubtedly."

It is doubtless true that a few very bad and notorious streets, formerly occupied by the most degraded class of natives, are now inhabited by a better class of aliens. But the clearance work was accomplished by a resolute band of philanthropists, and was part of a general awakening throughout London. These efforts led to the introduction of a respectable native working-class population, which has been, and is to-day being, dispossessed by the incoming foreigners.

I have spoke of fraudulent aliens. Some very remarkable evidence with regard to this class of immigrants was given before the Commissioners, and will be of interest to commercial men.

Mr. N. J. Highmore, Senior Assistant Solicitor of the Inland Revenue at Somerset House, said that in the five years ending in 1897, six convictions for keeping illicit stills were

obtained in the East End of London. But between January 1, 1898, and December 8, 1902 (the day on which he came before the Royal Commission), there had been 51 convictions for this offence—all obtained against foreign Jews.

The sale of drink on unlicensed premises and under very bad conditions is a fraud upon the revenue in which a certain class of alien immigrants engage largely. Mr. Highmore said:

“The number of foreigners convicted in the metropolitan area during the five years from 1898 to 1902 inclusive, was : in the case of clubs, 26 ; restaurants, 56 ; and what we call shebeens—that is, places where only drink is supplied—2. These were entirely unlicensed places, and these places are kept mainly by Italians and Jews. Some of them are kept by French, Germans, and Poles. (Total, 84.)

“The number of convictions in the case of similar English places in the same period is : clubs, 17 ; restaurants, 2 ; shebeens, 18. (Total, 37.)

“Many of these restaurants in the East End of London are houses with a room in the front and a room at the back. The room in front is simply a place where you can get tea and nothing else, or refreshments of that kind, a perfectly legitimate trade, apparently, being

carried on. You get into the house, and you go through into the back, and there you get as much drink and as much gambling as you wish. That is what we find in a great many of these restaurants. They are kept open at illegal hours—all hours of the night—and are frequented almost exclusively by foreigners.”

The forging of stamps and banknotes is a criminal industry which certain immigrants have transported from Russia to this country. Mr. Highmore said :

“ In the month of October 1901, two officials of the Russian Government came to London in consequence of information they had received that Russian State notes, postage stamps, and excise labels for tobacco, which are found to be imported into Russia in large quantities, were manufactured in London by a gang of Jews, emigrants from Russia.

“ They sought for a particular man, and they found a man at whose house he was in the habit of lodging, who called himself Samuel Miller, a Russian emigrant. Miller was invited to call on one of these two men, who was an excise inspector at Kiev ; he was invited to call at his hotel in Fleet Street. He had three interviews with him, and on the third occasion he produced to him ninety-six sheets of forged

Russian postage stamps, each containing fifteen. I have here a sheet of the stamps produced and also a genuine stamp, to which it corresponds.

"This man produced on the other two occasions of his visits forged Russian notes, the printing of which was not quite finished ; and he said he could procure forged Russian excise labels for tobacco if required."

I have already referred to fraudulent bankruptcy in Eastern Europe. Frequently those who have perpetrated this swindle, after being smuggled across the Russian or Polish frontier, flee to England. They then repeat their fraud in London ; and this malpractice is largely on the increase among aliens, especially in the East End. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the boot and shoe trade in which many foreigners engage, fifteen alien or Jewish boot manufacturers failed in 1901 in the East End of London as compared with eleven native firms. The gross liabilities of the aliens in the fifteen cases were £36,878, and the assets £10,133. The liabilities in the case of natives amounted to £12,709, and the assets were £5866. Thus the assets in the alien cases averaged 5s. 6d. in the £, while in the native cases they averaged 9s. 3d. in the £.

In 1902, in the cases of aliens, the assets worked out at an average of 4*s.* 2*d.* in the £ on the liabilities, as against an average of 11*s.* in the £ in the case of native firms.

Mr. E. Leadam Hough, Senior Official Receiver in Bankruptcy, gave evidence before the Royal Commission. Dealing with the cases in which receiving orders had been made against aliens during the three years ending March 31, 1903, in the High Court, whose jurisdiction extends, practically, over the whole of the metropolis, Mr. Hough handed in tables which showed :

(1) That during that period the receiving orders against aliens represented $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total number of receiving orders, and that in the same period the unsecured liabilities in these cases amounted to upwards of 16 per cent. of the total unsecured liabilities. More than nineteen-twentieths of the unsecured liabilities meant dead loss to the creditors.

(2) That the approximate total loss to creditors amounted to £1,220,850, and that the average loss to creditors per case was, in cases of alien bankrupts, £4224, as against a loss to creditors of £3302 per case in bankruptcies in general in this country. Fifty-four of the insolvent aliens had failed on one or more

previous occasions. There were eleven cases in which there had been two previous failures, and three in which there had been three or more previous failures. The approximate loss to creditors entailed by these previous failures was £354,600.*

The following passages are quoted from Mr. Hough's evidence :

Q. "These returns with regard to foreigners do not include children of foreigners born here?"—A. "No, they do not."

Q. "Would there be considerable additions for the bankruptcy of what you may call persons of foreign origin in that way?"—A. "Very large indeed. They would add to the amount of insolvency very largely."

Q. "You have no information with regard to small trade failures where the debtors have been sold up or absconded?"—A. "None."

* The total number of alien bankrupts in the three years was 289, of whom 93 (rather more than 32 per cent.) were ascertained to be Jews. Mr. Hough said: "There is no doubt in my mind that there are more Jews in the 289 than 93, only we rely on the information given by the debtors themselves, and I do not think we altogether get a true statement." The failure of thirty-six Americans, of whom six were known to be Jews, accounted for £393,373 of the gross amount of unsecured liabilities, which was £1,275,697. The figures given above show that only some £54,847 of this sum was realized by creditors.

Q. "And where it has not been worth while to take proceedings?"—A. "No."

Q. "Have you any information about that at all?"—A. "No; but I know such cases do occur. To enable a case to be brought into the High Court means a considerable expenditure by a creditor, and he is not going to increase the amount of his bad debt."

Q. "You infer from this that there are a great number of small failures among these people besides those that come into the High Court?"—A. "There must be very many."

Q. "It is complained of in the East End very largely, and you would agree with that, and think it is probably true?"—A. Undoubtedly. We see it in the collection of book-debts due to other aliens, and we see a large number of impecunious aliens, and the book-debts due from them are irrecoverable."

Q. "You say there are only one or two instances of aliens having kept proper books of account?"—A. "Yes; I have control of about one-third of the alphabet, and personally, I think, I only know of one."

Q. "That makes it easier for the debtor to put away money or stock, and account for his

deficiency by fictitious losses?"—A. "Yes, that is so."

Q. "And the Official Receivers have reason to believe that this is often done?"—A. "They know it is often done, and they have reason to believe it is much oftener done than they actually know."

The witness added that the methods of aliens who became bankrupt had frequently been commented on by the Registrars.

It will be urged that the heavy losses to creditors, nearly a million and a quarter in three years, are compensated "on balance" by the development or introduction of trades due to the inflow of alien labour. It is beyond question that there has been a valuable development of industries in which alien immigrants engage. But it is not clear to what extent the work would have been in the hands of native workers, especially native female workers, if the aliens had not arrived at the period when these trades were in process of expansion. It is disputable whether any industry has been introduced into the country by aliens. Every statement made to that effect has been controverted by persons possessing a knowledge of the history of the trades concerned.

It must be borne in mind that the native worker has to meet indirect as well as direct competition. As Mr. Llewellyn Smith, of the Board of Trade, pointed out to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, a change of taste may be brought about by the production of a class of articles not made in the country before. These are substituted for the kind of goods previously manufactured and sold, and the old form of industry dwindles and decays. Gradually the workers in the declining trade drop out of it and follow other callings, and their children no longer seek to enter what would otherwise have been expanding industries. The supplanting of native by alien labour has seldom been so obvious and direct as in the case of certain Scottish coal mines.

But it is a noteworthy fact—though I do not wish to press the inference unduly—that the Royal Commission was occupied during a number of its sittings in hearing the official testimony of representatives of trade unions, who declared that the native worker had lost his work and lost his trade owing to the competition of aliens in an overstocked labour market. I fear that as time goes on the effects of immigration in this direction will become very strikingly apparent.

No class suffers more from the pressure of the newcomers than aliens who have been resident in the country some little time. When, after hardship, struggle, and almost ceaseless toil, these men have at length lifted themselves towards a higher standard of living, the desperate competition of the "greener," who must take what he can get or starve, drags them back, perpetuates poverty and misery, and too often forces upon them the alternative of becoming "sweaters" themselves or of continuing to endure the sufferings of the "sweated." Many of this class would, in reality, welcome a measure restricting immigration; but not all dare utter their opinion among their compatriots, who have unwisely made the matter a racial question. How this competition operates may easily be judged from the following extract taken from the *Daily Chronicle* of March 30, 1903.

"Six or seven Russo-Poles appeared at Worship Street to answer summonses, at the instance of the police of the H Division, for obstructing the thoroughfare in Commercial Street, Whitechapel.

"The police stated that the aliens made a practice on certain afternoons in the week of resorting to the thoroughfare named either to hire labour or to be hired.

“Some of the defendants admitted that they went to try to hire men at 2s. a day, principally workers in the tailoring and cap-making trades. It was also stated that the market was chiefly for ‘greeners’—aliens newly arrived who wanted to be learners in those trades. Some of the accused were said to be addressing the workers denouncing the employers as ‘sweaters,’ and urging the workers not to engage under a certain rate. As many as forty persons crowded the pavement at times, and forced the passers-by into the road. Fines of 10s. and costs were imposed.”

CHAPTER XVI

THE ROYAL COMMISSION

THE Royal Commission on Alien Immigration commenced its work on April 24, 1902, and held forty-nine public sittings. It examined 175 witnesses, and the number of questions asked and answered was 23,639. It also received much information in the form of tables and reports. Two evening sittings were held in the Borough of Stepney for the purpose of hearing many witnesses who found it difficult to attend before the Commission in Westminster.

Of the seven Commissioners, five—Lord James of Hereford, Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, K.C., M.P., Mr. Henry Norman, M.P., Mr. Vallance, and the writer of this book—agreed to certain recommendations. A dissentient memorandum was prepared and signed by Sir Kenelm Digby, who was not opposed to the principle of restriction, but doubted whether statutory powers would be effective. Lord

Rothschild was in agreement with the Permanent Secretary of the Home Office.

After the most careful and thorough inquiry and deliberation the Commission arrived at certain results, and the majority advised the country to adopt decisive measures :

RESULTS.

“From the facts placed before us, many of which are above summarised, it seems to be established that a large number of alien immigrants have during the last twenty years entered the country. This number is much in excess of those who had in previous years reached us. The excess is mainly composed of Russians and Poles, who belong for the most part to the Jewish faith. There seems to be no reason to anticipate that under present conditions the number of alien immigrants arriving here in future years will be diminished.

“We have above stated the opinions we entertain of the condition, character, and conduct of these alien immigrants, and also of the effect their presence has upon the native community and national interests.

“We do not think that any case has been established for the total exclusion of such aliens, and it would certainly be undesirable to throw any unnecessary difficulties in the way of the entrance of foreigners generally into this country. But we are of opinion that

in respect of certain classes of immigrants, especially those arriving from Eastern Europe, it is necessary in the interests of the State generally, and of certain localities in particular, that the entrance of such immigrants into this country, and their right of residence here, should be placed under conditions and regulations coming within that right of interference which every country possesses to control the entrance of foreigners into it.

“Such regulations should, in our opinion, be made in order to prevent, so far as possible, this country being burdened with the presence of ‘undesirable aliens,’ and to provide for their repatriation in certain cases.

“But we think that the greatest evils produced by the presence of the alien immigrants here are the overcrowding caused by them in certain districts of London, and the consequent displacement of the native population. There seems little likelihood of being able to remedy these great evils by the enforcement of any law applicable to the native and alien population alike. We therefore think that special regulations should be made for the purpose of preventing aliens at their own will choosing their residence within districts already so overcrowded that any addition to the dwellers within it must produce most injurious results.

“We are also of opinion that efforts should be made to rid this country of the presence

of alien criminals (and other objectionable characters).

“We think it must be the duty of those who may have to frame legislation in connection with this subject to remember that they ought not to be content with reviewing its present condition, but also to anticipate, so far as possible, that which is likely to occur in the future. The causes that have so largely tended to produce the conditions above referred to will probably continue, and if this be so the evil will, unless checked by legislative or administrative measures, year by year increase and intensify.

“For the purpose of carrying the above views into effect we make the following recommendations :

RECOMMENDATIONS

“(1) That the immigration of certain classes of aliens into this country be subjected to State control and regulation to the extent hereinafter mentioned.

“(2) That a Department of Immigration be established, either in connection with the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board, or of an independent character.

“(3) That improved methods be employed to secure correct statistical returns relating to alien immigration. That for this purpose the Act of William IV., c. 11, be repealed, and power given by statute to the Board of Trade to make provision by regulations for

obtaining from shipowners returns of the numbers and nationalities of all aliens entering or departing from the United Kingdom, and such further information as may be thought desirable. These regulations to apply to all or any specified ports, and to be subject to such conditions or modifications as may appear expedient.

“(4) That legislative power be obtained for the purpose of carrying out the following suggestions :

“(a) The Immigration Department to have the power of making and enforcing orders and regulations, which may be made applicable to immigration generally, or to vessels arriving at or from certain ports, or to certain classes of immigrants.

“(b) That a sufficient staff of officers be appointed by the Immigration Department to carry into effect the provisions of this Act, and the orders and regulations made under it.

“(c) Power should be conferred upon such officers to make such inquiry as may be possible from the immigrants upon their arrival as to their character and condition, and if such officer shall have reason to think that any immigrant comes within any of the classes mentioned as ‘undesirables,’ viz., criminals, prostitutes, idiots, lunatics, persons of notoriously bad character, or likely to become a charge upon public funds, he shall report the case with such

particulars as he can give to the Immigration Department.

“(d) It shall be the duty of the Immigration Department to act upon any information it may obtain or receive in order to carry out any provisions which may be made in respect of the above suggestion. And provision should be made for the immediate determination of any proceedings taken before a Court of Summary Jurisdiction on the arrival of the immigrant, pending which the immigrant may be placed under suitable charge.

“(e) Any alien immigrant who, within two years of his arrival, is ascertained or is reasonably supposed to be :

A criminal,

A prostitute,

A person living on the proceeds of prostitution,

Of notoriously bad character,

or

Shall become a charge upon public funds, except from ill-health, or shall have no visible or probable means of support,

May be ordered by a Court of Summary Jurisdiction to leave this country, and the owner of the vessel on which such immigrant was brought to this country may be ordered to re-convey him to the port of embarkation.

“(f) In reference to all orders of repatria-

tion, due regard must necessarily be had to international arrangements.

“(g) Such orders and regulations to include provision for medical examination of alien immigrants at port of arrival. In cases where an immigrant is found to be suffering from infectious or loathsome disease, or mental incapacity, the medical officer to have power to debar such immigrant from landing, and the shipowner to be compelled to re-convey the immigrant to port of embarkation.

“(h) Immigrants on arrival to give the information demanded from them, refusal or the giving of false information to be an offence under the Act, with penalty and discretionary power of repatriation at expense of shipping company.

“(5) *Overcrowding.*

“(a) That every effort should be made to enforce with greater efficiency the existing law dealing with overcrowding, and that increased power should be obtained for certain purposes, especially with the object of bringing all dwellings within specified areas under the operation of the by-laws made under the powers of the Public Health Act.

“(b) That inquiry should be made by the Immigration Department, either upon the representation of the local authority or otherwise, as to the existence of overcrowding in any area.

“(c) If it be found that the immigration of aliens into any area has substantially contributed to any overcrowding, and that it is expedient that no further newly arrived aliens should become residents in such area, the same may be declared to be a prohibited area.

“(d) Full notice that any area has become prohibited should be given at such ports of embarkation as may be thought necessary, and should be communicated to the immigrants by every possible means.

“(e) That on their arrival in this country inquiry should be made from the immigrants as to their intended destination. If any one should allege his intention of becoming resident in a prohibited area he shall be expressly informed of the regulation affecting prohibition. All immigrants to be furnished with a list, in their own language, of prohibited areas.

“(f) All alien immigrants (not transmigrants) coming from and arriving at certain ports to be registered. On registration, a place of residence or intended residence to be given by the alien. If none can be given, the alien to furnish such residence as soon as obtained. Any change of residence during the first two years of residence in this country to be notified.

“(g) If within two years after an area is declared to be prohibited, any alien who

has arrived in this country after such declaration shall be found resident within such area, he shall be removed therefrom, and shall be guilty of an offence.

“(6) Upon conviction of any felony or misdemeanour upon indictment the Judge may direct as part of the sentence that the alien convicted shall leave the country. If such direction be disobeyed, the alien may, on summary conviction, be punished as a rogue and vagabond. This power may be extended to convictions for certain offences triable by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction; such offences to be specified by statute.

“(7) That further statutory powers should be obtained for regulating the accommodation upon and condition of foreign immigrant passenger ships.

“To the recommendations we have ventured to make in respect of restriction, it may be objected that they are not likely to prove effective in preventing the landing of undesirables at the ports of this country. In answer to this objection we desire to point out that, in making these recommendations, we have been guided by the opinion we entertain that the suggestions we have made, if carried out, will have the effect of deterring aliens of the undesirable class from leaving their homes, and also of inducing the shipping companies to exercise greater care in selecting their passengers.

“It seems not improbable that the pub-

lication of this Report, and the prospect of restrictive legislation, may cause those who intend to emigrate to anticipate the proposed restrictions, and thus lead to an immediate and immoderate increase of immigration and a consequent accentuation of the existing evils in the East End of London and elsewhere. We are impressed with the necessity of avoiding, so far as possible, such a result of our labours; and we would venture to submit the immediate adoption of such of our recommendations as can be introduced without recourse to Parliament. At the same time we clearly recognize that the complete enforcement of the system we propose is only possible by legislation."

The proposal which has met with the sharpest criticism is that for establishing a "prohibited area." It is said that this is impracticable. I cannot myself see that it is inherently less feasible to prevent overcrowding by this means in a metropolitan district than to exclude an undesirable foreigner from a canton in Switzerland or a parish—which may, of course, be urban—in Germany. Both these things are done by simple police administration, and I have never heard that the authorities encountered serious difficulty. It is, as I have shown in dealing with American law, the deterrent effect of such

regulations which renders their enforcement easier than it seems. The Report of the Royal Commission, in the Recommendations of the majority of the Commissioners, recognizes this fact. And most of the critics forget that the prohibition would operate in conjunction with the registration of addresses by aliens, and with that stricter, wider enforcement of existing sanitary law, which would then become possible. It is, one would suppose, little likely that a lawyer and legislator of such great experience as Lord James of Hereford, and an administrator of such long experience as Mr. Vallance, would become, after lengthy consideration, parties to a recommendation whose absurdity can at once be demonstrated by the man in the street. It is said that the aliens who arrive would not know whether the house to which they went was in a prohibited area or not. The official to whom, as the recommendation provides, they would give the address would tell them. And none of our immigrants are so simple that they could not make inquiry at their intended lodging.

With regard to the proposed registration it has even been argued that the proposal treats immigrants like ticket-of-leave men! The foreigner, as well as the native, has to declare

his name and address to the census officer and various collectors of revenue, and I cannot see why any sane man should regard it as an insult to be called on to give these particulars to one Government Office when he has no such sentiment about giving them to another. Most of us, voluntarily and without any feeling of mortification, register our names and addresses in the Post Office Directory and other reference lists. The registration of resident foreigners is enforced in Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, Alsace-Lorraine, Switzerland, the territory of Hamburg, Wurtemberg, Hungary and France, not to mention Russia, and I have never heard that this regulation was regarded as humiliating by those to whom it applies. But the thing has a quite different aspect in the case of one who has a motive for withholding his name or wishes to conceal the fact that he is moving into a congested district.

Then with regard to the alleged negligence of certain East End municipal bodies we have the testimony of Mr. Dickinson, before whom the local authorities of Stepney would come as delinquents if they failed in their duty, that they do not neglect it. But legislation intended to meet the case of natives, who are neither Russians nor trans-migrants,

and whose illegal overcrowding is haphazard and sporadic, is powerless in the hands of men who have to deal with systematized overcrowding, which all concerned in it conspire to maintain, and with the arrival of twelve steamboat loads of newcomers weekly.

At an early stage of the inquiry before the Royal Commission the question was put to a member of the Stepney Borough Council, the late Alderman Silver, why the sanitary authorities were unable to cope with the existing evils. His explanation is to the point. He was asked by a Member of the Commission :

“ Supposing financial considerations and other conditions were favourable, as fast as you do anything for the working classes in the East End, that is to a large extent nullified by the stream of people coming in ? ”

And his answer was :

“ I have often compared it to the process of emptying a bath of muddy water ; you may keep on emptying it, but as long as you have a tap from which muddy water also comes into the bath you may have the process of emptying, but you will never succeed in emptying it at all.”

Or as the same witness expressed the matter in another phrase :

“Although we endeavour to prevent overcrowding as far as possible, in dealing with these people it is very much like dealing with a large rabbit warren. We simply put the legal ferrets, if I may so call them, into the hole; the rabbits come out and go into another hole, and the same operation is repeated.”

Q. “You mean by that, supposing you turn people out of one house they simply go into another?”—A. “They simply go into another.”

Q. “Simply transfer the overcrowding till the legal ferret, as you have very appositely called him, has gone away?”—A. “Yes.”

It must be remembered that one of the principal points advanced in favour of the aliens from Eastern Europe throughout the inquiry was their docile and law-abiding character; and they are accustomed to respect administrative measures. There can be no reasonable doubt that the great diminution of the inflow into the most congested areas resulting from the new measures recommended would largely remedy the worst grievance of the East End and enable the local authorities to exercise effective control in the areas under their supervision.

With regard to the principle of exclusion, I believe that I am within the mark in saying that England stands alone among civilized

nations in refusing to protect herself against demonstrably undesirable aliens. The report of the Royal Commission shows that every European country exercises the right to move out and shut out criminal and disorderly persons and paupers. I have already dealt with American legislation on the subject. Our self-governing colonies have adopted similar laws, with this distinction of principle, that they apply not only to Asiatic but to all British subjects other than natives of the colony concerned as well as to aliens.

And what is the practice of the Jewish authorities as regards the settlements which they control? We have a most important example in what is done by the Jewish Colonization Association in the case of Argentina.

Here, as is well-known, the late Baron Hirsch founded a colony for his co-religionists. It was his intention to transfer half a million of Jews from the congested districts of Russia and Poland to South America. At the outset the scheme seems to have been ill-considered and to have broken down. Numbers of people were sent out at an enormous cost, who, when they arrived, were found to be quite unsuited to the country and to the occupations which they were to be called upon to pursue. Bad harvests

accentuated the trouble. Consequently discontent arose, and a very large percentage of those that had been sent returned to their native land.

Since then matters have been reorganized, and I understand that the colony is now progressing in a satisfactory matter, and that the colonists are prosperous and successful. In order to make them so it has, however, been found necessary carefully to protect them from the undesirable elements of their own race. When any person or family expresses a desire to emigrate to the Argentine, the character, health, capabilities, and previous history of each individual case are made the subject of a careful inquiry.

The Ika has correspondents in every town of Eastern Europe, and full means of ascertaining all particulars regarding the would-be emigrants. These particulars, when collected, are tabulated and considered. Then a decision is arrived at as to whether the applicants are fit and proper persons or not. Each head of a family is called upon to contribute a certain proportion of the money needed for their expenses. No one who is not absolutely suitable is allowed to start, and the arrangements are now so complete that upon the arrival of a new batch of immigrants

it is accurately known where they are to be placed, and what particular occupation they are going to follow. House accommodation, tools and implements, cattle, &c., are ready in advance, and it may be almost said that people so arriving would find the tea-kettle boiling on the hob.

It recently came to light that persons of an undesirable character were going to the Argentine Jewish settlements independently, and strict orders were immediately issued by the central committee at Paris that on no account was any one to be accepted by the colonies who did not come fully accredited from the Ika itself. It was realized that if people not so accredited were allowed to wander off to the Argentine, the settlements there would speedily become overcrowded and degenerate, and that the respectable and capable colonists would suffer.

We have, then, the remarkable fact that where their own colonies are concerned, the Jewish authorities take the most elaborate precautions to prevent those very evils from which we are suffering in the East of London. Numbers of the people who come freely into England and the East End would stand no chance whatever of finding a resting-place in the Jewish colonies of the Argentine.

And even if it be said that the operations of Ika are regulated by business people on business principles, and that therefore the humanitarian side of the case cannot enter largely into their consideration, still the necessity of exercising strict control over the character of the immigrants is admitted by such a leader of the idealist and Zionist school of thought as M. Sokolov. He fully recognizes that if the dream of a Jewish nation in Palestine were ever realized, one of the first steps to be taken would be to lay down stringent regulations with a view to the exclusion of *all* undesirable elements from the country.

It will certainly be urged that we should be departing from traditional British usage if we close our door against any foreigner. This contention is historically inaccurate, and, if it were successful, would be practically mischievous in our present conditions. I am as unwilling as any man to deny the right of asylum to a political refugee. But there is a great difference between that and admitting the professional criminal, or leaving unregulated an immigration *en masse* which is ousting our people from their homes and steadily building up a ghetto.

The Report of the Royal Commission, in the brief historical survey which it contains, refers

to Orders in Council, local regulations by which aliens were subjected to a "rigid control," and to "Statutes affecting Alien Immigration which were passed in almost every reign since Richard II." It was as recently as 1863 that the General Repealing Act "swept them, with few exceptions, from the Statute Book." The policy of restriction is by no means inconsistent with national tradition. Sentiment leads us to prefer the "open door," free admission for all to a free land, because we still think, in this connection, of the Huguenots and the other refugees from religious persecution whom the country is proud to have received and to whom it owes a debt. These immigrants certainly did not produce congestion in the unskilled labour market.

But with regard to the criminal and waste population from abroad, we seem to have reached a point at which our principles, adopted originally to meet one set of facts, have been perverted in order to make them cover another. The open door was, as I have said, opened to receive those suffering from religious or political persecution in past centuries. It has been left open to receive the criminal and waste population of all the countries in Europe. That is not an application of the principle

which the people of this nation have ever really thoughtfully accepted. It cannot reasonably be argued that the right of refuge for foreigners was ever intended to cover the admission of sources of corruption. However numerous our home-bred bad characters may be, the force of their example is enormously strengthened by the establishment of energetic alien schools of vice and dishonesty amidst our own necessitous population.

And it is not fair to pit our sympathy with the oppressed in Russia against our sense of duty to our own people. "Charity begins at home" is a saying that sounds selfish. But when altruism towards aliens leaves some of our poorest folk without homes and without work, it is time to say that the burden of solving the problems of Eastern Europe is not to be laid on them.

"I blame the Jews," Mr. Israel Zangwill said recently to a representative of the *Daily News*, "for always expecting Christians to solve their problems for them. . . . I blame the Jews for not solving their own problem." That is a most concise statement of my case.

APPENDIX

I CANNOT, for obvious reasons, publish all the facts that I learned in Russia in this connection. The reports of the following cases, which have already appeared in the papers, will remind readers of the deplorable circumstances of cruelty, brutality, and duplicity which accompany the transference of certain noxious activities to England.

“ Mendel Piernick, 33, and Dora, 28, his wife, were charged before Mr. Kennedy with conspiring to procure Merjem Lie Giek, a young Polish woman, for improper purposes during the past three months at a house in Fitzroy Court, Fitzroy Square. The male prisoner was further charged with living upon the earnings of the girl. Mr. G. H. Young, solicitor, prosecuted; Mr. Barrington Matthews, solicitor, appeared for the defence; and Mr. Woolf Levy interpreted in Yiddish. Mr. Young, in opening the proceedings, said that the prisoners and the girl Giek, who was twenty-four years of age, were Poles, and were acquainted with each other in their native country. The prisoners came to England from Lodz, Poland, and invited the girl to follow them to this country. She did so, arriving at St. Katherine's Docks on November 7.

“ The prisoners met her there, and, when an agent

of a society for the protection of Jewish women spoke to the girl, the male prisoner told him she was a friend of his, and was going to stay with him and his wife. The prisoners took her to a house in Fitzroy Court. It was then suggested by the female defendant that she should lead an improper life.

"The girl, who could not speak English, began to cry, and declined to do as she was told. Eventually, however, the woman took her to Tottenham Court Road, where she commenced the life, and had since continued it. The woman used to take the money she got and hand it over to Mendel. Sometimes complaint was made that the girl did not earn sufficient money. Inspector Soper, D Division, deposed that almost daily observation showed that the male prisoner did no work, although the establishment in Fitzroy Court was ostensibly a bootmaker's. As soon as he began to occupy the place it was used for other purposes, and was 'registered' as such by the police. Evidence was called bearing out Mr. Young's statement. Mr. Barrington Matthews said there was nothing in the evidence to support the second charge that was made against the male prisoner. Mr. Kennedy committed the prisoners, who reserved their defence, for trial."—*Times*, January 24, 1903. They were convicted and sentenced.

Offences such as that of Mendel Piernick are increasing in number, and sometimes reveal even greater depravity than was shown in his case. At the Central Criminal Court, on June 27, 1903, Hyman Levy, 58, and Max Lewis, 39, Russian Jews, described as "moneyed people concerned in keeping houses of ill-fame," but as "dirty and ill-kempt," were prosecuted

for taking a Russian girl, fifteen years of age, from the custody of her parents. The girl disappeared from her home; her father traced her to a house in Burton Crescent, Euston Road, and demanded her from the prisoners. He was then attacked by Levy. Thereupon he applied to the police. Lewis was charged with assaulting the girl, who stated that she had lived for a week with a man at a hotel in Oxford Street, and that Lewis had taken most of the money she had received.

The Recorder said the prisoners had been convicted of an odious crime, and were evidently men of the most abandoned character. He sentenced Lewis to two years' and Levy to eighteen months' hard labour.

"Philip Cohen, 20, a Russian subject, living at 12, Challis Court, E.C., was brought up on remand at the West London Police Court on Wednesday on a charge of committing a criminal assault on Hester Bankell, aged sixteen, a Polish girl, living at 86 Grove Street, E.C.; and Judith Goldstein, aged thirty-two, a Russian, living at Challis Court, was charged with procuring the same girl for immoral purposes.

"Mr. Arthur Hutton prosecuted on behalf of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

"The prosecutrix, a dark handsome girl, stated that she only recently came to this country, and was living at her sister's house. The prisoner Goldstein met her one day in the street, claimed acquaintance with her on the ground that she had known her in Poland, and finally introduced Cohen to her as a man who 'would make her a good sweetheart.' Then, on June 20, the

man, she alleged, decoyed her to a flat at St. Catherine's Mansions, Lillie Road, Fulham, and there, with the aid of two other men, ravished her, afterwards seeking to make her lead an immoral life. Finally she managed to make her way back to her sister's house, where she related her story, and Cohen was arrested. When he was charged he exclaimed: 'She is my wife. I don't care if I get ten years. English prisons are only for ladies and gentlemen. I am only frightened of being hanged.'

"Both prisoners were committed for trial."—*West London Observer*, August 7, 1903.

"The inquest on the body of Fridel Birkelvich, who died at the Holborn Union Infirmary on the 8th inst., in consequence, it is alleged, of injuries inflicted by a man named Nathan Obstbaum on January 22, was held at Shoreditch on Saturday by Dr. Westcott.

"The body was identified by Rebecca Franks, a widow, as that of her sister.

"Dr. Evans, of the Holborn Infirmary, deposed that when the woman was admitted on Thursday, May 28, she said she had been kicked in the side by a man because she had refused to live an immoral life. The next day she had a stillborn child. She died on June 8. The autopsy disclosed an abscess, which might have been caused by a kick.

"Jane Stern, residing in the City Road, whose evidence had to be interpreted, said that Fridel Birkelvich called on her on May 28 and complained of having been kicked by Nathan Obstbaum, a man who lived with Mrs. Franks. Deceased was very ill and was removed to the workhouse. Witness swore she was present at a house in Burton Crescent, Euston

Road, about four months ago, when a man named Nathan Obstbaum kicked Birkelvich because she declined to continue an evil life and wanted to go into service.

"Morris Cohen, of 1, Anthony Street, E., a Polish mantle maker, whose evidence was also interpreted, said he was present when Obstbaum beat the woman. Her eyes were blackened, and Obstbaum also kicked her in the side. She fell to the ground, crying out that she was killed. Mrs. Franks came downstairs, and remarked that if Birkelvich did not go upstairs she (Mrs. Franks) would 'pay her more.'

"Hyman Ferovitch, of Burton Crescent, who stated that he was an 'American tailor,' also swore that Obstbaum kicked deceased while she lay on the ground.

"Replying to the coroner, he said his wife was ill in hospital for seven weeks, and Fridel Birkelvich during that time simply acted as his housekeeper.

"Detective Garrard, L Division, put in a statement by Birkelvich in which she said she came to London at the request of her sister, who paid her fare. The first night she was here, with the connivance of her sister, Obstbaum overpowered her. He then compelled her to lead an evil life, and took the money from her. On January 22 Obstbaum assaulted her and blackened both her eyes because she declined to continue the life. Her sister (Mrs. Franks) then locked her in a room for a fortnight until her eyes got well. A warrant was applied for, but the magistrate refused to grant one, but offered a summons. The matter, however, was not proceeded with.

"Nathan Obstbaum, a jeweller, of 2, Ossulston Street, King's Cross, having been cautioned by the coroner, denied the allegations against him.

"The jury returned a verdict of 'Wilful murder' against Nathan Obstbaum, who was committed for trial on the coroner's warrant."—*Morning Advertiser*, June 15, 1903."

As the woman's death did not take place for some time after the assault, there was insufficient legal proof that the prisoner's brutality had been the cause of it; the charge was reduced to one of 'causing grievous bodily harm' at the trial, which took place at the Old Bailey. Obstbaum was found guilty, and Mr. Justice Lawrence sentenced him to eighteen months' hard labour.

"The jury added a rider to their verdict as follows: 'The jury regret that such a class of alien immigration into this country as this case has revealed from beginning to end cannot by some means be lessened, if not altogether prevented.'"—*Echo*, July 24, 1903.

It has been argued—with every appearance of seriousness—that because there are native bad characters of all kinds in this country, and because there is gross overcrowding in districts where there are no aliens, English people cannot justly complain of criminality and social malpractices among foreign immigrants. The contention seems to be: "If you have people of your own as bad as these aliens, how can you reasonably resent what the latter do in your country?" According to this amazing doctrine the appearance of crime or congestion of population in a Jewish state—if one were founded—would give all other nations the right to pack

their criminals, habitual overcrowders, &c., off to Palestine. And, by analogy, if a father of a family has a child of bad character, all others who are similarly afflicted should be allowed to bring their troublesome offspring to his house and leave them there. The argument that, because we have undesirables of our own to deal with, we ought to put up no barrier against the entry of more undesirables from abroad, is so frankly impudent that one can scarcely believe it has been advanced. As a fact, an attempt was made to use it before the Royal Commission, by whom, of course, the evidence in support of it was ruled to be inadmissible.

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

J.B.G., Jewish Board of Guardians.
L.C.C., London County Council.
R.C.A.I., Royal Commission on Alien Immigration.
U.S.A., United States of America.

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